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Chapter

I. Industrial Revolution

143

II. The effect of

childhood

21

III. Parents

22

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"The Development of Child Welfare with
particular reference to Skellow Hall
Children's Home in the West Riding"

for the degree of

M.A.

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CONTENTS

Chapter		<u>Page</u>
I	Industrial Society and the Child	1
II	The offender - Perishing and dangerous classes	11
III	Barnardo and his influence	29
IV	Poor Law Care of Children	34
V	Infant Protection	42
VI	Concern for the Offender	60
VII	The Curtis Report and its effects	71
VIII	Skellow Hall Children's Home	83
IX	Background of Children coming into Skellow Hall	85
X	What their background reveals regarding the development of Child Welfare	131
XI	The development of Case Studies (A - W) at Skellow Hall	138
XII	Skellow Hall as a Children's Home	156
XIII	Boarding Out	183
XIV	Conclusion	185
	Bibliography	188
	Reports and Material used for Case Studies	189

CHAPTER I

Industrial Society and the Child

The two largest classes in the agricultural England of the end of the seventeenth century were "cottagers and paupers" and "labouring people and outservants". The former outnumbered the latter. They obtained their livelihood from the common land whereas the others were wage earners. Almost all the families at this time had small rights in land. Thus, the village labourer had a status and an independence. This came from being able to produce his family's food as well as being able to work for it.^{1.}

A growing urban population changed a large amount of this. Further demands had to be met. Productivity of the soil had to be increased. This meant enclosure of the common land which in turn meant that the family was no longer a self-sufficient economic unit but was now dependent upon the breadwinner whose wage was unrelated to his family's size. This agricultural revolution not only resulted in a

1. More information about this can be found in Chapter I, "Children in Care", Jean Heywood. (Kegan Paul 1959).

breakdown of the labourer's economic independence, but also destroyed the status of the family by unemployment and pauperism. The State, in 1722, gave parishes permissive powers, singly or in combination, to provide workhouses "for the lodging, keeping and maintaining, and employing"^{1.} of poor persons, and "to take the benefit of their work, labour and service."^{2.} This assistance was given after a workhouse test had been applied, "no poor who refused to be lodged and kept in such houses should be entitled to parochial relief."^{3.} The test was applied to the fatherless child aswell. The Leeds Workhouse Committee Order Book contains the following entry for 10.9.1726: "It is agreed that Samuel Boll be taken out of the workhouse and returned to his mother; he being an idiot and incapable of doing anything towards his maintainance."^{4.}

It is quite clear from this that the statutory Poor Law was not set up as a humanitarian measure to meet individual need in a time of distress, for "The economic value of each individual in Society was assuming major importance at the expense of his uniqueness and his need."^{5.}

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1. "Children in Care" P.14. Jean Heywood (Kegan Paul).
 2. ibid Chapter II, P.14.
 3. ibid Chapter II. P.15.
 4. ibid Chapter II. P.16.
 5. ibid Chapter II. P.18

If this was the attitude of the State, then humanitarian measures would have to come elsewhere.

Pauperism increased and illegitimacy too and with it the problem of deprivation. The rise in illegitimacy in the eighteenth century is not difficult to explain. The familiar pattern of community life was torn across, the old life of the agricultural pattern changed; in the new towns the social and moral controls of the small intimate parish were absent; in the villages it was not so easy for irregular sexual relations to be followed by marriage.

The problem of providing for homeless and illegitimate children increased. As the illegitimate child could no longer be accepted into the family, (the old agricultural communities which could have found a place for him were breaking down) he became the liability of the parish. His unmarried mother could not provide for him. She often could not provide for herself and so she frequently joined her son.

Illegitimacy was not dealt with sympathetically by the parishes. For them it was a question of cost and as wealth was now being held in high esteem, anything which brought about economic pressure upon individual income was resented. Not only was illegitimacy a question of morality. It was an offence against society.

Eden's contemporary account of the workhouses shows something of the social attitude to unmarried mothers.^{1.} They were sometimes deliberately given less food than the legally married women during the lying-in period. If they were chargeable a second time on account of bastardy they had to wear distinguishing gowns as a mark of their disgrace. Many women tried to escape the consequences by abandoning their babies on wasteland, dunghills and doorsteps or giving or^{2.} selling them to anyone willing to take them.

As long as a society believed such conditions as mentioned above to be sinful and as long as the cost of helping was resented, then any hope of recognizing the illegitimate and deprived children as human beings in need of aid was far distant.

Out of such a social setting, emerged Thomas Coran, a retired sea captain. His work had entailed travelling from Rotherhithe to London and it had been during these journeys that he had seen numbers of abandoned children. These experiences were to influence his whole future. He was determined to try to prevent some of the tragedies which the attitude of society had helped to create. It was no easy task for him

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1. Eden's "State of the Poor", (1797)
 2. "Nobody Wanted Sam", Mary Hopkirk (John Murray 1949)

and it took nearly twenty years of sheer hard work and undying faith to obtain in 1739 a Royal Charter. This enabled him to set up a foundling hospital where desperate mothers could leave their children and know that they would be cared for. In temporary hired premises, the Foundling Hospital was built at first in Lamb's Conduit Fields in 1747. Coran not only provided immediate care for such children. He was also aware of the child's future. It was made possible for the mother, should she return and want to make a home for the child, to contact him at all times.

Coran was keen to try to board some of the children out in the country and a tradition of fostering was built up among some families. This practice saved the lives of many young children needing individual nursing. The humanity and enlightened administration of the Hospital had an important influence on public opinion.^{1.}

Jonas Hanway, a Governor of the Foundling Hospital and a merchant philanthropist, was concerned about the death rate among young children in the crowded workhouses. Dr. Price, an eighteenth century demographer,

1. "History of the Foundling Hospital" Oxford University Press 1935.

says that up to 1767 almost all parish infants in the metropolos died in their first six years.^{1.} Hanway secured the passing of an Act in 1767^{2.} which provided for the compulsory removal to the country of London workhouse children. Foster parents were paid a certain sum of money and were to be visited by appointed guardians. Many children were later apprenticed near these foster parents. A great number of children of destitute parents found their way into the workhouse. There, they were either apprenticed or "reared in crowds".^{3.} Numbers of boys and girls were grouped at some form of mechanical employment, a spinning wheel or loom. The conditions were often dirty and insanitary.

These parish children were apprenticed to employers at the age of seven or upwards and the apprenticeship lasted till they reached the age of twenty one or, in the case of girls, was terminated by marriage. The field of apprenticeship extended with the development of machine factories in the North of England and their need for labour. Local labour was insufficient and as a result pauper families were sent from London and the South, who were already

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1. "State of the Poor" Vol.1. P.450. Sir Frederick Eden.
 2. "The Hanway Act".
 3. "State of the Poor" Vol.1. P.450.

overburdened with rates to maintain the unskilled and unemployed. This system lasted until the discovery of steam power. This enabled factories to be built in towns (water power had before determined the location of the site). Local children could now be employed. Contemporary accounts reveal a period of neglect and degradation among the young apprentices.^{1.}

The later inventions of Hargreaves and Crompton brought about a decline of handloom weaving. The paid labour of children in factories became important to their own families with this decline, as they were becoming the breadwinners. Parish overseers now saw to it that the industry was adequately provided with child labour. The destitute, the orphaned and the illegitimate parish children of London were sent up to the North to work twelve or fifteen hours a day including night shifts. They lived in Apprentice Houses, attached to the factories. The conditions the children had to live under were appalling and accounts tell of many being grouped together in one dirty room.^{1.} Such conditions were breeding grounds for fever. An epidemic of fever broke out in one of the cotton mills in Radcliffe

1. "State of the Poor". Vol.L. Sir Frederick Morton.

in 1784. A local practitioner, Dr. Percival, persuaded the Manchester magistrates to pass a resolution refusing to sanction indentures for parish apprentices to cotton mills where they would be worked at night or more than ten hours by day. Other northern magistrates followed this example but children were still sent from other areas.

In 1802 "Sir Robert Peel's Act" for the Preservation of the Health and Morals of Apprentices and others employed in cotton and other mills" was passed. This was an attempt to improve conditions for these children. They were not to work more than twelve hours a day. Factory visitors were to be appointed. Not more than two children were to share a bed. These provisions for inspection were not strongly enforced and were evaded in some factories.

Many parish children were sent to be apprenticed in the mines. The conditions here were even worse than those of the mills. The First Report of the Commission on the Employment of Children and Young Persons in Mines presented to Parliament in 1842 gives a picture of conditions of their employment. "These children (work-house children) are made to go where other men will not let their own children go. If they will not do

it they take them to the magistrates who commit^{1.}
them to prison".

The demand for chimney ~~sweep~~ apprentices arose at the end of the eighteenth century. At the beginning of the nineteenth century there were about four hundred^{2.} master sweeps and about one thousand boys in England. These boys were almost invariably unwanted children. The nature of the work demanded undersized children. Some were apprenticed as young as four or five years of age, but most were aged between six and eight. Legislation to improve these conditions and eventually to prohibit the employment of children as chimney sweeps was devoted in Parliament for over eighty years (1788-1875).

Lord Shaftesbury, despite bitter opposition, fought to reduce the hours of work in factories and mines and to prohibit the work of children in mines and as chimney sweeps. His 1842 Mines Act prohibited the underground employment of women and of children under ten years of age and prepared the way for the Mines Inspectorate of 1850 and gradual intervention by the State in securing the safety and better conditions

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1. First Report, Children's Employmentⁱⁿ Mines Commission, Appendix, Part II, Pages 182-183. (1842)
 2. J.L. and Barbara Hammond "Town Labourer" Chapter IX. Guild Books, 1949.

of mines.

It was the widespread exploitation of the children in the worst factories which drew attention to the helplessness of the parish child and roused for the first time public feeling and action. Improvements would not come from the State. They would have to be shown the way by philanthropic societies.

CHAPTER II

The Offender - Perishing and dangerous classes

The position of the destitute and illegitimate child in society in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century has already been noticed. The question which must naturally emerge now is whether society was as indifferent to its young offenders. Children who begged, roamed the streets in a neglected condition and eventually appeared before the magistrates for offences even at the age of eight or nine were sentenced to death, imprisoned with felons or transported to the penal settlements of Canada and Australia. Law-breaking children were considered to be a dangerous infection to society and to remove them was the only remedy. This was the principle behind State legislation, but there were some people who were thinking differently. In 1754 Sir John Fielding, Chief Magistrate at Bow Street, after sentencing five boys for stealing wrote -

"It is indeed a melancholy truth, which I have learned from experience, that there are at this time in town some hundreds of this kind of boys. They might be made useful to society if they were collected together before they commence thieves and placed either in men of war or the Merchants' Service." 1.

1. "Life and Work of Sir. J. Fielding" Chapter VIII.
R. Leslie Melville.

The opinions of such people had some effect for in January 1756 the Commanding Officer of H.M.S. Barfleur wrote to Sir John Fielding asking him to send thirty boys for employment in his ship as officers' servants. The boys were sent and on their journey to Portsmouth the boys were seen by a Mr. Fowler Walker of Lincoln's Inn. This person was impressed by what he saw and set about raising subscriptions to fit out an even larger number of poor boys to go to sea in this way. In July 1756 the Marine Society was founded "for the redemption and reformation of young criminals.". In 1786 a training ship was started for the boys. Sir John was now one of the Society's administrators and a member of its committee. He had previously drawn attention to the number of homeless young girls in London, some of whom had become prostitutes at the age of twelve. As a result of his interest and support the Female Orphan Asylum and the Magdalen Hospital were both founded.

In 1788 the Philanthropic Society was founded "for the protection of poor children and the offspring of convicted felons and the reformation of children who have themselves been engaged in criminal practices, that^{1.} they might learn the happiness and benefit of a home."

1. S. Curtis, "History of Education", London Univ. Press.

Thus the Society was linking the care of the destitute with the reformation of those in moral danger for the first time. There was here some definite attempt by the voluntary society to solve a problem which the Poor Law administration was not even prepared to face.

The Poor Law was now becoming a relief organisation. It was unable any longer to organise within the small parish system constructing measures to prevent destitution. The methods used were sometimes inhuman and were responsible for the development of alternative forms of care which were pioneered by humanitarians and philanthropists.

The Philanthropic Society was one example. There was a genuine desire to be constructive. This was seen in its system of organisation. In 1800 it was incorporated by Act of Parliament and re-organised, later consisting of three departments, a prison school for young convicts, a workshop for the employment of destitute boys, and a training school for pauper girls.

The Poor Law Commissioners were being shown that there was a more positive attitude to the care of the deprived child than the punitive one they were adopting.

In 1830 Edward Pelham Brenton, a retired sea captain, founded the Children's Friend Society for the prevention of Juvenile Vagrancy and opened in West Ham a reception home for destitute children. Here they were taught trades and later emigrated to the Colonies under supervision. Seven hundred were sent out to South Africa but news of South African farmers exploiting the system stopped any further progress and the Society died out.

It must be noted at this stage that whilst the philanthropic and humanitarian elements of society were thus throwing light on the defects of the existing Poor Law system, they were dealing purely with the children they handled. They did not, as yet, see the need to enquire into their background. Nor did they look for reasons why the growing towns abounded with vagrant children.

Meanwhile the Poor Law administration had reached a crisis. The policy, elaborated by the Berkshire Magistrates at Speenhamland in 1795, had given rates in aid of insufficient wages. To keep the poor alive, it had been decided to tax the rate-payers, instead of forcing farmers and employers of labour to shoulder their proper burden. It had been a fatal policy for it had encouraged farmers to keep down wages.

"This system made the rural labourer a pauper and discouraged his thrift and self-respect. It paid better to cringe to the authorities for the dole, than to attempt any form of self help."^{1.}

This Speenhamland System was reviewed in 1832, and a new Poor Law was passed in 1834 by the Poor Law Commissioners. This operation, although necessary, was carried through with a ruthless disregard of the human side of the problem.

When out-door relief was the means of existence to many thousands in town and country, it was terrible to cut it all off at one stroke, without at the same time enforcing a living wage, or supplying any shelter for the unemployed and their dependents except the workhouse. The Commissioners, in their alarm at the pauperizing effect of the system which they abolished, made it a principle that the workhouse life should be more unpleasant than the life of free labour. Within the workhouses men and women were separated to prevent child bearing, but in spite of recommendations by the Commissioners that the different handicapped groups should be segregated, the old, the disabled, the senile, the sick, the prostitute, the lunatic and the destitute child continued to be maintained together.

1. "History of England" G.M. Trevelyan (Longmans)

Commentators of 1852 had "seen nothing in the prisons and lunatic asylums of Europe to equal conditions in the English workhouse where children, lunatics, incorrigible, innocent old, disabled were all mixed together."^{1.}

Although the new Poor Law after 1834 benefited the community as a whole, in rural areas, in industrial areas the case was very different. Previously, unemployment due to the introduction of new machinery or fluctuation of trade had been relieved by the old Poor Law. Now, the removal of out-door relief caused a hatred of the Poor Law for it seemed that it was being punished for its poverty. Many were prepared to beg and suffer rather than risk the humiliation of receiving help in the new kind of workhouse.

A very clear picture of destitution among children is seen in Henry Mayhew's "London Labour and the London Poor". He made a point of questioning children in the streets, homes and in the workhouses. The eight year old girl who is a street seller and breadwinner for the family and whose life begins and ends with the watercresses she sold and the prices she obtained, help to emphasize the failure of the Poor Law to relieve destitution.^{2.}

1. "The Watercress Seller" Mayhew's Characters. (ed. Peter Quennell).

2. *ibid.*

Another child is approached by Mayhew - He is asked the cause of so many boys becoming vagrant pickpockets. "Why, sir,, if boys runs away, and has to shelter in low lodging houses - and many runs away from cruel treatment at home - they meet there with boys such as me, or as bad and the devil soon lays hands on them." ^{1.}

Vagrancy among children in the cities was abundant - Yet a large bulk of the public were ignorant of this. Contact for a lot of them came through the Sunday School Movement. Sunday Schools had been set up in an attempt to educate the ignorant poor. They did little in this respect but they did educate the promoters for they were acquainted for the first time with the social conditions of the poor.

John Pounds, a crippled Portsmouth cobbler, was so moved by what he came into contact with that at the age of fifty two in 1818, he opened a school, gathering together the ragged children about him and teaching them reading writing and arithmetic. Simple cookery was also shown to the girls and shoemaking to the boys.

William Locke in 1844 found many children were excluded from Sunday School "in consequence of

1. "London Labour and the London Poor" H. Mayhew.
Published by Charles Griffin and Co. (1851).

their filthy and ragged condition."^{1.} This brought about a determination to found schools, which, like that of Pound's would occupy children of this nature. But it was realized that to combat the problem of destitute children, a common policy would have to be formed and consequently in 1844 the Ragged School Union was founded. This was the first real attempt to deal with destitute children. The Union was under the leadership of Lord Shaftesbury. The schools were open in the day and in the evening for children between four and sixteen. The curriculum contained industrial subjects. Food was provided free in most schools. The only criterion for admission seemed to be destitution. By 1852 there were 100 schools, with 13,000^{2.} (excluding Sunday school) children. By 1859 the number of Ragged Schools numbered 20,909^{3.} pupils. Of the teachers working in Ragged Schools, 200 were paid and 1,600 were voluntary.

Members of the Ragged School Union disagreed as to its function. Locke maintained that Ragged Schools should receive grant aid and receive inspection from the State. Sheaftesbury argued that to receive aid would mean a curbing of methods and a lack of opportunity for experimentation. He therefore argued that the

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1. G. Cohen. English Social Services. (Longmans)
 2. G. Cohen. English Social Services. (Longmans)
 3. S. Curtis. History of Education. (University Press)

Schools should retain their voluntary character.

The Ragged School Movement showed itself to be a genuine attempt to deal with the problem of destitution. The Poor Law authorities dealt with those who were destitute and orphaned, and who came into the care of the parish because their parents were too poor to look after them. But the children who lived in their own homes, however much they were neglected and exposed to moral danger, were the responsibility of no one until they became delinquent, when they found their way into the punitive atmosphere of the nineteenth century goals. There was no duty upon the Poor Law to seek out homeless children and provide for them. Thus, the Ragged Schools were a preventive measure. They attempted to provide on Sundays and in the evenings a place for companionship and teaching which would modify the pattern of behaviour on the streets.

A great deal more had to be done to understand the nature of the problem. One of the people who helped this further understanding was Mary Carpenter, the daughter of a Unitarian minister. She had originally helped her mother and sisters to run a school for middle class girls. Her deep religious interests redirected her energies. In 1831 she

became a Sunday School teacher and was impressed by the numbers of children who were untouched by Sunday Schools. In 1846 she established a Ragged School in Bristol, the average attendance of which was 160. The Ragged School, she maintained, could be extended as an even greater instrument of reform by the professional use of paid teachers chosen for their capability and skill. What a tough proposition such schools were to those without the necessary skill is shown by the following account in the diary of a Ragged School in London:-

"To compose the children, if possible, I proposed that we should have a little music, and sang very sweetly the first verse of the Evening Hymn. We then invited the children to follow us and we got through the first one or two very well, - but a blackguard youth thought proper to set up on his own account, and he led off a song in this strain. I need scarcely add that every boy followed this leadership, ay, girls and all, and I could not check them. After some time, I spoke to them very gently and sadly, and having gained attention to some degree, I ventured to close the School with a very short prayer. I did do. Fearful to relate, in the midst of the Lord's Prayer, several shrill cries of "Cat's meat" and "Mew, mew" added another fact to the history of the School. So by the help of God we must both work harder. It is a post of honour. It is a forlorn hope." 1.

Neither an ardent heart nor hard work was the remedy. What was needed was skill and understanding.

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1. Quoted in "Reformatory Schools for the children of the perishing and dangerous classes and for juvenile offenders." Mary Carpenter. (London 1850).

As Mary Carpenter worked among the vagrant and delinquent children in the ragged school she developed a deep love and understanding for the children. She became convinced that Ragged Schools were not sufficient to meet the real needs of these children and, because many of the boys were young thieves who had been convicted and served sentences, she became aware that imprisonment in the ordinary goal system of the time produced in children a lasting injury. She felt the need for a place where the young criminal could be treated with firmness and at the same time a "love for better ways", for to her all children were capable of becoming useful members of Society.

This was, indeed, a new line of thought completely at variance with that common at the time. The ^{ne}general belief was that punishment should be retributive. In her thinking, Mary Carpenter had been greatly influenced by the continental experiments with young delinquents, particularly the Rauhe Haus at Hamburg and La Colonie Agricole, at Mettrai.^{1.} The latter was founded in January 1840 under the influence of Monsieur Demetz and was based on earlier experiments of the Rauhe Haus at Hamburg. The objects at Hamburg were, "to restore to Society, as honest and useful members of it, those young persons who have subjected themselves to punishment and to do this by substituting the discipline of a school and a

1. J. Carpenter, "Life and Work of Mary Carpenter"

family rather than that of a prison." ^{1.} Here four hundred boys were grouped into "families" of forty, with a master and two assistant masters, and had their own separate houses. The master lived with the boys and gave them as much individual and personal care as possible. All boys had in turn some share in the government of the establishment. Vocational training was provided and education at an elementary level, with opportunities for more advanced work. All the boys were taught music. Only a very small percentage of the boys had a criminal record after leaving. Work with farmers and tradesmen was obtained for each boy as he left and a "patron" found who reported every six months on his progress and conduct.

Mary Carpenter referred to these experiments in a letter written to the Rev. John Clay, Chaplain of the Preston Goal in November 1850:-

"Since the prison system, even as best conducted, is proved ineffectual as a preventive and reformatory measure for children and such institutions as Mettrai have exceeded their expectation, they should be tired It is not the spirit of fear, but of power and love, and of a sound mind, which can be enough to subdue these hard hearts; and without touching the inner spirit no external measure will be of much avail." ^{2.}

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1. "Reformatory Schools" Mary Carpenter, Ch. VI.
 2. "Life and Work of Mary Carpenter" J. Carpenter.

As a means of stimulating public interest and enlisting public support for the work, Mary Carpenter in 1851 published "Reformatory Schools for the Children of the Perishing and Dangerous Classes and for Juvenile Offenders." In this book, she advocated special forms of treatment to meet the particular needs of the neglected children of the time. In the cities there were many destitute children who were refused admission to the existing National and British Schools because of their bad family background and for these she urged the setting up of good free Day Schools, as an extension of the Ragged Schools but with qualified and well paid teachers chosen for their special aptitude for work with difficult children. This group is described as children of the perishing classes. For the children who wandered about the streets begging, refusing to attend any sort of school and developing dishonest patterns of behaviour she recommended Feeding Industrial Schools such as had been opened by Sheriff Watson in Aberdeen for "the children of the poorest classes, and chiefly those who are found to infest the streets begging and stealing". Here the children were fed and given some training of personal help to them - sewing and laundry for the girls, shoemaking and tailoring for the boys, returning to their families at night. Magistrates

were to enforce attendance of the children and the cost was to be recovered partly from the parents and partly from the rates. The needs of those children actually convicted by the Courts of offences against the law were to be met by penal reformatory schools in place of prison sentences. These last two groups were the "dangerous classes". She asked that magistrates should have power to commit convicted children to these schools which would be able to detain them and be supported by government inspection and grants. Weekly payments for maintenance of the child should be made from the rates or by the parents.

"The parents being in reality the faulty parties, rather than the children, since juvenile delinquency usually originates in parental neglect, every parent should be chargeable for the maintenance of a child thrown by crime on the care of the state, as much as if the child were at large, and should be held responsible for the maintenance of a child in a Reformatory School, or made in some way to suffer for the non-discharge of this duty."1.

This was, indeed a new line of thought. Previously the problem of the neglectful parent and the breaking of the family had been attacked by the retributive measures and by economic pressure. Now the problem was resolved into punishment of the parents and treatment of the child and this had far-reaching effects on social

1. "Life and Work of Mary Carpenter" Ch. VI.
J.E. Carpenter.

attitudes to neglected children and children in care and on the administration of services provided for them.

Public support followed the publication of Mary Carpenter's book and this in turn led to the appointment on 6th. May 1852 of a House of Commons Committee of Inquiry on Juvenile Delinquency. She put her views before the Committee and some of them were startling at that time.

"A child will never behave well in prison from any moral sense. I have in point of fact found that those who behave best in prison are really more likely to do badly when they come out. Those who I have been most able to act upon have been somewhat rebellious in prison. I would then enlist the will of the child in the and without this I do not think that any true reformation can be effected." 1.

The Committee's recommendations which supported Mary Carpenter's views were not issued until the Summer of 1853. She was determined to prove the correctness of her views. The opportunity came to her to set up a Reformatory School on her own lines. Some vacant premises near Bristol were taken over. Twelve hundred children could be accommodated in the buildings which were surrounded by many acres of land. In September 1852 Kingswood was opened as a mixed Reformatory School.

1. "Life and Works of Mary Carpenter" P.133.
J.E. Carpenter.

The principles which emerged from this Reformatory are worth looking at in detail as they influenced greatly future development in child welfare. Environment plays an important part, she maintains, and consequently the country is ideal for it provides abundant opportunities for creative work on the land:-

"The child must be placed where the prevailing principle will be, as far practicable, carried out, where he will be gradually restored to the true position of childhood. He must be brought to a sense of dependence by re-awakening in him new and healthy desires which he cannot by himself gratify, and by finding that there is a power far greater than his own to which he is indebted for the gratification of these desires. He must perceive by manifestations what he cannot mistake, that this power, whilst controlling him is guided by wisdom and love; he must have his affections called forth by the obvious personal interest felt in his own individual well-being by those around him; he must, in short, be placed in a "family". Faith in those around him being once thoroughly established, he will soon yield his own will in ready submission to those who are working for his good; it will thus be gradually subdued and trained, and he will work with them in effecting his reformation, trusting where he cannot perceive the reason of the measures they adopt to correct or eradicate the evil in him. This, it is apprehended, is the fundamental principle of all true reformatory action with the young, and in every case where striking success has followed such efforts it will be traceable to the greater development of this principle, to a more true and powerful action on the soul of the child, by those who have assumed towards it the holy duties of a parent." 1.

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1. "Juvenile Delinquents, their Condition and Treatment" Ch. IX. p.298. Mary Carpenter.

Private individuals such as Mary Carpenter and voluntary organisations such as the Philanthropic Society led to the Reformatory Schools (Youthful Offenders) Act of 1854 and the Industrial Schools and Reformatory Schools Acts of 1857. These Acts made the reformatories and industrial schools subject to Government inspection by the Home Office, which was enabled to make grants to them. Courts could now order Juveniles who had been convicted to be detained in reformatories, for periods between two and five years, and require parents to contribute to their maintenance there, and very young offenders between seven and fourteen years charged with vagrancy, could be sent to industrial schools. Local authorities were empowered to make contributions towards the establishment of reformatories and juveniles could be allowed out on licence from them when at least half their sentence had been completed. The attitude towards the relaxing of the punitive approach was one of strong opposition, still. Juveniles had to spend fourteen days in prison before going to the reformatory school. Reformatories were corrective of crime, the industrial schools aimed at preventing it by caring for the neglected before they could become delinquent. In 1856, therefore, the Reformatory and Refuge Union was created to co-ordinate the work of the voluntary bodies engaged in both

curative and preventive work.

"The chief aim of the Union is to reclaim and elevate neglected and criminal classes, by educating them in fear of God and in knowledge of the Holy Scriptures." 1.

This remained a formal statement of aims until 1936.

Other bodies, in the last half of the nineteenth century were becoming concerned with rescue work. Whilst the poor law care represented now the collective responsibility of the community towards its deprived children, it did not take upon itself the burden of sending its officers into the streets and slums of the great cities to bring in the children who were exposed to degradation and moral danger because of their destitution. This rescue work became the expression of evangelical influence and also of the Church's corporate life which had been revived by the Oxford Movement in the 1830's. The numbers of children who were exposed without protection, gave the philanthropists the opportunity to express their newly formed crusading spirit. Not only was it a case of saving children, it was a case of saving souls and "bringing them to the kingdom of heaven."

1. Quoted in "Children in Care", J. S. Heywood,
Ch. III

CHAPTER III

Barnardo and his Influence

Among these crusaders was Dr. Thomas John Barnardo. The 'rescue principle' directed the whole of his life. In 1868, having qualified as a medical missionary, he spent some time teaching in a Ragged School, run by one of his friends, while he was waiting to go on his missionary work to China. Here in the school he came into contact with a ragged homeless boy, Jim Jarvis, who after school, asked his teacher, Barnardo if he could stay and warm himself by the fire. From this boy, Barnardo learned of the hundreds of other boys in a similar plight. This was the turning point in Barnardo's career and from that meeting, he was^{1.} determined to devote himself to rescue work.

Lord Shaftesbury became interested in the work and consequently Samuel Smith, a member of Parliament, offered a thousand pounds to Barnardo for rescue work. As a result of this, he opened, in 1870, the first Home for Destitute Boys at Number 18, Stepney Causeway, a small house but nevertheless a shelter for twenty-five neglected children. Despite a determination at first

1. "Barnardo of Stepney" (Guild Books 1953. pp.60-61) A.E. Williams gives a detailed account of this meeting.

to run the Home in a business-like way and to avoid debt, Barnardo soon departed from this principle. The experience of having to refuse a boy admission because there were no vacancies and later finding him dead 'from exhaustion', determined his outlook. This was expressed on the signboard which was fixed over the door of his Home: "No destitute child ever refused admission". Barnardo was now searching the streets almost every night for children. This entailed extension of his buildings.^{1.} A Home for girls was opened by him. This was attached to his own home, Mossfield Lodge at Barkingside. Here he learned that errors in principles of care had much more effect on girls than boys. The degraded and exceptional behaviour of the girls disturbed him. He attempted to rethink the problem.

"I saw at a glance what I ought to do. Instead of a big house with sixty girls clad in dull uniform, I would arrange for a number of little ivy-clad cottages to arise, each presided over by a kindly Christian woman who would be mother. In such a home, and in such an atmosphere, the affectionate ties of family life and family love would have a chance of being fostered in the experience of the children. Surely the family is God's way for 'He setteth the solitary in families'".^{2.}

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1. Dealt with in A.E. Williams, "Barnardo of Stepney".
 2. Quoted in A.E. Williams, "Barnardo of Stepney".

Thus, Barnardo followed up the family traditions, encouraged in the Rauhe Haus at Hamburg, and at Mettrai and pleaded for by Mary Carpenter. He effectively carried the principle of cottage homes into the voluntary child care service and in July 1876 thirteen of the planned cottages at Barkingside were formally opened. They later became known as the Village Homes.

The principle which directed the work of Dr. Barnardo was based on the power of new environment and teaching:

"If the children of the slums can be removed from their surroundings early enough and can be kept sufficiently long under training, heredity counts for little, environment counts for everything." 1.

Barnardo realised that more had to be done for deprived children than just giving them a shelter in the nature of a children's home. Eventually they would have to earn their own living and live in the outside world as useful citizens. As a result a certain amount of industrial training took place in his Homes. He established his own schools on the Home premises in which he introduced a broader education. For boys, he established well equipped workshops with professional craftsmen to teach a trade; and for the girls he ensured

1. Quoted in A.E. Williams, "Barnardo of Stepney"

a careful domestic training lasting three months before placing them as servants with respectable families.

Barnardo attempted to deal with the growth of deprivation by looking at the causes. He saw how the unmarried mother was ostracized and how financially she was unable to keep the child. This to his mind was the root of the whole problem for the child was often sold or given away. In 1889, by financial grants, he began what is still known as a system of auxiliary boarding out. This helped an unmarried mother to provide proper care for her child. The work of Dr. Barnardo is the work of an individualist, but the other great rescue societies of the nineteenth century, were the works of a community, each of which originated with a denominational church. These were the National Children's Home, the Waifs and Strays Society and the Crusade of Rescue. The National Children's Home was opened in London in 1869 and was run by Thomas Bowman Stephenson. Dr. Stephenson ran his Home on certain definite principles. The religious value of the Home was the main guiding principle. To him, the work was "to seek and save" among destitute children. His Homes were intended to run along the 'family' lines. The Waifs and Strays Society, which is now known as the Church of England Children's Society, was founded

in 1881. The Society adopted the term "Waifs and Strays", so that the Church's intentions would be made clear. Its policy was to receive the most destitute and friendless children who could not gain admission to the older orphanages. The admissions, however, were carefully regulated. Each Home would attach itself to the local town or village. Children would not be segregated in any way and integration of the children with the community would be ensured.

All the Rescue Societies made use of emigration. The opportunities abroad would provide the adolescent with the type of adventure which he needed. There was also a large demand for boys to work as helpers and for girls to help with domestic work on the farms. Children were sent mainly to Canada, but some went to Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. The system did not work easily. The Canadian Government complained about the quality of children they were receiving and the emigration schemes had to be planned very carefully.

CHAPTER IV

Poor Law Care of Children

The various experiments which the voluntary societies had been trying out affected the administration of the Poor Law towards the pauper child. The policy of the Poor Law Commissioners, since the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834, was to make the child fit for employment and independence in later life. One step towards this was to separate the child from the adult inmates of the workhouse. Another was to improve the workhouse schools. It had been found previously that a great many of the pauper children had been unfit for the outside world. They would not remain apprenticed long to an employer before they were back. In fact they regarded the workhouse as their home. In this way^{1.} the workhouse increased pauperism. It had other results. Many offenders were found to have originated from the workhouse.

The Poor Law Commissioners decided that the children in their care should have moral and industrial training to safeguard them against this disease. A school, if possible separated from the workhouse, seemed to be the answer. In 1835, therefore, the Commissioners provided for the appointment of a schoolmaster and

1. Further details can be found in the "Poor Law Commission Report of 1838" - p.89.

schoolmistress who were to instruct the boys and girls

"for three of the waking hours at least every day, in reading, writing and the principles of Christian religion, and give them other instruction to train them to habits of usefulness, industry and virtue." 1.

These workhouse schools were soon found to be inadequate. The teachers appointed were often incapable. Attention was drawn to this in 1837 by Dr. Kay (afterwards Sir James P. Kay-Shuttleworth). He suggested the unions should combine to form schools in which a better quality of education could be provided. This insistence on the even greater importance of education to the pauper child than to the child of poor parents broke away from the characteristic principle of "less eligibility" of the poor law administration. Schools, serving a larger district and separated from the workhouse would attract a better type of teacher. Also they would provide a better and more economical system of education.

As a result of various enquiries and investigations made by the Poor Law Commissioners, legislation was passed in 1844, allowing parishes and unions to combine and form such schools.

1. "Report of the Mundella Committee on Poor Law Schools". 1896, p.7.

In 1861 the Royal Commission on Education reported very unfavourably on workhouse schools and tried to make district schools compulsory. The report emphasised the need to break from the workhouse and the importance of education. Yet, district schools were not largely adopted. From 1870 onwards alternative systems of boarding out and cottage homes seemed to gain favour, but their large size proved in the end to be their downfall. Several of them contained more than a thousand children. Four establishments at Sutton, Anesley, Hanwell and Ashford accommodated respectively 1,543, 900, 1,148 and 790 children and covered areas of 92, 60, 136 and 69 acres.¹ The trend towards widespread adoption of district schools was halted by the Compulsory Education Act of 1870. This Act made education of the poor a national duty and thus made it possible for guardians to provide alternative forms of care under which the children could be sent out to schools in the general community. By now it was agreed that education in itself was no complete answer to pauperism and the delinquency which often accompanied it. Something more was needed. The answer seemed to lie in the 'family' system. Mrs. Nassau Senior, when asked, in 1873 by the Local Government Board (which from 1871 onward controlled the Poor Law),

1. W. Chene, "Education under the Poor Law".

1. "Report of the Mundella Committee on Poor Law Schools", 1896, p.7.

to make a report regarding the education of poor law girls, stated that the "massing of girls together in large numbers was bad and must issue in failure."^{1.}

The cottage homes system gradually appeared in the Poor Law administration. In 1877 plans were put forward for West Derby, West Ham and Bolton to become district schools which would be on cottage home lines.

This new principle in the Poor Law was a welcome and much needed departure from the old "barrack" system. The establishments were now large communities broken down into groups of children in cottages. At Bolton 300 children were split up into groups of 30. At Swansea 80 children were split up into groups of 20.

Further investigations were made into the cottage home system. Six voluntary homes of this type were thoroughly examined by a group of Local Government investigators. The findings showed that the system was far more effective than anything the Poor Law had brought about yet. A family unit which approximated within economic limitations to the natural family, was more than desirable. In view of this recommendations were made for each family to

1. W. Chene, "Children under the Poor Law".

consist of twelve to twenty children. A great advantage of this system was the possibility of appointing married staff with children of their own of both sexes. Formal Education was to be carried out in a mixed central establishment corresponding to an ordinary village school; industrial training was to be varied and comprehensive as possible and to be not only vocational

"but also to fit both boys and girls to become healthy heads of families and the progenitors of children free from the hereditary traits now common to their class." 1.

This new system spread and was adopted by boards of guardians. In time, however, the system developed disadvantages. The villages became too self-contained, the cottages often became villas and the community out of touch with the outer world.

The Sheffield Board of Guardians were aware of these disadvantages. They had been frequently trying to improve, looking for new methods.

"A great many years ago we went very carefully into the question of the association of the children with adult paupers. We came to the conclusion that it was most important that they should be removed - that was in 1883 - and we made some enquiries into the different systems that existed. We visited the Swinton Barrack Schools (Manchester) and Leeds to see the boarding out as

1. "Report of the Mundella Committee on Poor Law Schools" 1896, p.104. C.8027.

it was carried out there and I think we unanimously came to the conclusion that it was desirable that the children should be removed and our wish at that time was to introduce the double system of boarding-out and a cottage homes village Well, we saw the disadvantages, or some disadvantages of the cottage homes village. The idea of isolated homes appeared to us the best idea." 1.

This statement by Mr. J. Wycliffe Wilson, the Chairman of the Sheffield Board of Guardians shows how the Sheffield Board were prepared to experiment and how eventually they came to try the isolated and scattered Home system. They also set up a "headquarters", or receiving house, into which, instead of the workhouse, all the children were received on admission and from which they were drafted into the scattered homes. It was quite possible to meet the child's religious needs by providing some of the scattered homes for Roman Catholic and some for Protestant children and to situate them within ready distance of their denominational schools. It was claimed by the originators of the experiment that the system was "the most complete and efficient system in existence for dealing with the children of paupers ... is the nearest approach to family life and in no other system is the 'workhouse taint' so completely removed." 2.

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1. "Report of the Mundella Committee on Poor Law Schools." 1896.
 2. *ibid.*

The alternative systems of child care under the Poor Law in the last quarter of the nineteenth century were developing experiments to attempt to meet the individual needs of deprived children in care. They were all the time efforts to discover ways of substituting personal care for the administrative machinery of an institution. There were many able people who were aware of the deprived child's emotional needs, but social conditions made it difficult for full expression to be given to this understanding. The recommendations of the Mundella Committee on the Poor Law report emphasised the need to emancipate the children from their pauper associations. Variety of treatment was needed. Some responded to boarding out, others to care in a scattered home or voluntary home or found their best hope of success in emigration. Use was made of the voluntary homes by the Poor Law Board. This provided an effective blending of ideas. By the beginning of the twentieth century the new methods of care were being widely used. Of 69,030 in Poor Law care in 1908 less than a third were in workhouses or infirmaries,

Boarded out	-	8,659
Workhouses and Infirmaries	-	21,498
Separate establishments (district schools, cottage homes, scattered homes)	-	27,698
Other institutions	-	1,906

and/

and in establishments not provided by the Poor Law, being hospitals, homes for the handicapped, training and industrial homes and schools and training ships,
1.
9,319.

There was now an effort emerging, based on the experiments of the voluntary societies, to give the child more individual care and some sense of belonging to a community, first developed in the cottage and later in the scattered home system for

"The policy which lay behind the care given to the deprived child was treatment through education for work, but this was not meant to be as punitive as at first it may appear. Deprivation was seen as a product of destitution and pauperism which must be cut out at the root. To do this, the child had to be made to rise above the conditions which had brought him to the work-house and this he could do only by the value of his labour. The Victorian doctrine of hard work, which permeated society and was responsible for the country's prosperity, was as much in the interests of the child as of the citizens who paid the bill for his training. Of course, such a doctrine was open to abuse and much menial and degrading work was given to the children by those whose job it was to care for them, and against whom there was no effective protection, but the Poor Law pressed forward with its work of education, believing this to be the answer. This persisted until the development of the new child care service after 1948 led to a different policy of treatment." 2.

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1. Further information is given in "Children under the Poor Law" - J. Macnamara, 1908.
 2. "Children in Care" p.92 - J.S. Heywood (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1959)

CHAPTER V

Infant Protection

In the last thirty years of the nineteenth century there was a growth of measures intended to protect the child neglected within his own home or whose illegitimacy or other circumstances of birth were exploited as a means of private profit. This problem was brought into the open by the development of the new public health movement with its emphasis on the prevention of mortality by attention to environmental hygiene and social conditions.^{1.}

Poor Law support given to unmarried mothers under existing bastardy laws and the Poor Law policy of refusing out-relief to mothers with illegitimate children had encouraged the practice of "baby farming", where children were placed out with "professional" foster mothers for payment of a lump sum or for weekly allowances. In 1872 an Act was passed which gave better protection to Infant Life. It required professional foster mothers to prove their fitness for the work by registering with the local authority. This was an attempt to end the abuses of baby farming. The local authority could refuse^e to register any house thought

1. Further information about this can be found in "Report on the Sanitary Conditions of the Labouring Population of Great Britain." Edwin Chadwick, London, 18 1.

to be unsuitable and could strike off the register the name of any person guilty of serious neglect or incapable of providing the children with proper food and attention.

Because the problem of maintaining and caring for the illegitimate child lay very largely at the root of the practice of baby farming, the Bastardy Laws Amendment Act was passed in 1872 to enable the unmarried mother to have more financial support for her child. Only since 1844 had she been able to apply to the Court for maintenance but frequently the putative father had disappeared or had left the country at the time of birth. This new law enabled the mother to make a claim against the putative father before the child was born or at any time within a year of the birth and raised the maximum amount payable for maintenance (from 2s.6d. to 5s.0d. weekly). This remained the principal Act dealing with the custody and maintenance of the illegitimate child until 1957.

In the same year a bill for the compulsory registration of births and deaths was introduced into Parliament and became law in 1874. Between 1891 and 1894 a return of statistics by Dr. Tatham, Medical Officer for Manchester, illustrated the need for greater protection of the illegitimate infant. Dr. Tatham stated that the mortality in the first year of life of

infants illegitimately born was twice that of the legitimate child. The need was realized in 1897 when a new Infant Life Protection Act was passed. The new Act raised the age limit of children subject to protection from one to five years and laid a duty on Local Authorities to inquire in their areas whether there were persons fostering for reward. Improper care was defined in the Act where an infant was kept in a house which was so unfit or crowded as to endanger its health and where a child was "retained or received by any persons who, by reason of negligence, ignorance or other cause, is so unfit to have its care and maintenance as to endanger its health."^{1.}

Thus child life legislation begins to move from the single motive of protection from neglect and murder towards the preservation of infant life in a vulnerable group, though it did not link up with the administration of public health until 1929. Concern for the well-being of such children is also seen in the growth of the voluntary societies aiming at the prevention of cruelty towards them. As early as 1868 boards of guardians had power to prosecute parents who wilfully neglected to provide for their children so that their health was

1. See J.S. Heywood, "Children in Care".

endangered. But this legislation was limited to children with whom the Poor Law became directly concerned. There was, in fact, no effective method of discovering and repressing cruelty until the formation of the voluntary societies for this purpose.

This took shape from the example of pioneer work in New York, Boston and other American cities, which had been observed by Thomas Agnew, a Liverpool merchant and banker, on visiting that country in 1881. He was so impressed with what he saw that, when he returned, he discussed the experiments with his member of Parliament, Mr. Samuel Smith. As a result, a few weeks later, at a meeting organized by the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, an appeal for a Dogs' Home became extended into an appeal for the protection of children. In April 1883 was formed the Liverpool Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. Similar societies were formed in most of the large towns, Bristol and Birmingham each founding a society in 1883 and London, Glasgow and Hull two years later. In London the Reverend Benjamin Waugh was made Honorary Secretary of the Society and it was largely due to his efforts that by 1889 thirty one cities and towns had formed organizations. In May of that year, therefore, the London society amalgamated with some of the large towns so forming the National Society.

As a result of the work done by these societies, the first Act for the prevention of cruelty to, and better protection of children was passed in the summer of 1889. The legislation was referred to in Parliament as the Children's Charter. It expressed the public desire to try to prevent cruelty to any child before it actually occurred, and to prevent excessive suffering and overwork, which still existed in the many kinds of employment open to children and not regulated by the factory acts. The work of Waugh and of the National Society was of great importance in helping the public to become aware of the cruelty and ill treatment which existed and of the machinery by which people could help to play their part in preventing and controlling it. Many local boroughs had asked for, and obtained, powers of control over the employment of children at night, in the streets, in public houses and places of entertainment for example and the Act attempted to provide uniformity of the law. With regard to the offence of cruelty, the Act, like the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1868, intended action to be taken before actual injury had occurred, but it attempted also to be a deterrent measure by making cruelty a punishable offence.

"Any person over sixteen years of age who, having custody control or charge of a child being a boy under the age of fourteen years

or being a girl under the age of sixteen, wilfully ill-treats, neglects abandons or exposes such a child, or causes or procures such a child to be ill-treated neglected, abandoned or exposed in a manner likely to cause such a child unnecessary suffering, or injury to its health, shall be guilty of a misdemeanour." 1.

Punishment here applied to wilful cruelty.

Neglect due to such social evils as ignorance and poverty was not touched. Two important powers of a new kind now became exercisable; firstly the magistrates on the sworn evidence of any person having reasonable cause to believe a child was being ill-treated or neglected, could issue a warrant to be executed by the police officer to enter a house and search for the child and take him and detain him in a place of safety until he could be dealt with by the court. This clause was inserted to enable representatives of the rescue societies or the societies for the prevention of cruelty to act quickly. Secondly the courts were given power to take the child out of the care of a parent convicted of neglect and ill treatment and to commit him to the charge of a relative or other fit person until the age of fourteen, if a boy, or sixteen if a girl. The term "fit person" covered industrial schools

1. "Act for the Prevention of Cruelty to and better Protection of Children" 1889. Section 1.

uncontrolled. Magistrates were also given powers to

send such offenders not to prison but to an industrial

and charitable institutions. When the child had been committed to care the court would still order the parent to contribute towards his maintenance, a measure intended to emphasize the parental responsibility which the committal order might have seemed to destroy. It must be observed that now a constructive, rather than a punitive attitude towards contributions was being emphasized.

In the five years following the passing of this Act 5,792 persons were prosecuted for cruelty and 5,460 of them convicted while 47,000 complaints were examined by the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children.

In 1894, new legislation was passed. Once again this was mainly due to the work of Benjamin Waugh. Committal orders were now made operative to the age of sixteen. The original 1889 Act had made a punishable offence the ill treatment of boys up to fourteen and girls up to sixteen. Cruelty was now extended to include assault and the terms "suffering" and "injury" were more clearly defined. Offenders who were habitual drunkards were dealt with in new ways. It had been noticed that the majority of cases of cruelty had been committed when the adult was drunk and uncontrolled. Magistrates were now given powers to send such offenders not to prison but to an inebriates'

home where constructive treatment could be given without the branding of a prison sentence. The offender's consent was required before such an order could be made.. This indicates a positive step forward in constructive work towards the prevention of further cruelty.

Other clauses in the Act controlled the employment of children in places of public entertainment or in occupations with risk of danger to them.

Thus, through the later years of the nineteenth century, the voluntary organisations, by their rousing of the public conscience and their work of protecting minorities, achieved legal rights for the inarticulate and exploited child. From this period onwards there seemed to be taking place a change in social attitudes towards the depressed groups. This change in attitude was mainly due to the growth of scientific ways of thought which were applied to the study of poverty, pauperism and assistance.

The Charity Organisation Society, founded in 1869, did a lot of constructive work. Rather than merely give indiscriminately the Society provided a centre through which the resources of various charities could be mobilised to provide constructive help. Their policy was to deal with hardship in such a way that they built up the resources of the individual and made it less

likely that the hardships would recur. This entailed a need to analyse the cause of the difficulty in each individual case and to plan help with a view to removing the cause. The Charity Organisation therefore changed the idea of relieving distress by alms, while at the same time scientific surveys into the nature of poverty changed society's attitude to pauperism as a personal fault and emphasised the environmental factors which caused it. Charles Booth and Seebohm Rowntree conducted surveys which showed how widely prevalent was poverty in the society of the time and that the major causes of it were not personal factors or fault of character but low wages, the cost of maintaining large families of young children and the enforced idleness which comes from sickness, old age, unemployment or the death of the chief wage earner. Rowntree found 9.9% of the total population of York (15.46% of the wage earners) living in primary poverty whose causes he analysed as follows:-

	<u>% of total cases</u>
Low Wages	51.96
Large families	22.16
Death of chief wage earner	15.63
Illness or old age of chief wage earner	31.11
Unemployment	2.31
Irregular work	2.83

He found 18% of the total population (28% of the wage earners) living in secondary poverty i.e. poverty which could have been avoided if the money had not been spent on drink, betting or some improvident way, or misused by ignorant or careless housekeeping. Rowntree's scientifically calculated measurement of primary poverty was a very stringent one. He defined it as a stage where the total earnings of the family were insufficient to obtain minimum necessities for the maintenance of merely physical efficiency. The disclosure that such a large proportion of poverty prevailed and that so much of it was due to causes beyond the individual's control, led to the demand for a state policy to prevent the causes of poverty arising and with this came a new attitude towards the pauper. In the early twentieth century, therefore, legislation was passed to deal with the relief of poverty. This was done by building up social services to support the family in its period of greatest need and to provide a social environment in which it would be easier to maintain a minimum standard of life and subsistence.

In the field of general child care, social services were provided which helped to reduce the amount of sickness and neglect and consequent poverty. Local Education Authorities were empowered to feed the

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children at school, and had also to provide for the medical inspection of all children attending public elementary schools. The preservation of infant life was safeguarded by provision for the notification of all births to the local medical officer of health.

To consolidate the legislation dealing with the protection of children and the training and treatment of child offenders, Mr. Herbert Samuel introduced a Bill into the House of Commons on the 10th. February 1908. The Bill became law as the Children Act on the 21st. December, 1908. The significance of the Act lay not in its being new but in its consolidation into one statute of a great many amending laws and piecemeal legislation which publicly emphasised the social rights of children.

The first part of the Children Act 1908 embodied the earlier infant life protection legislation. The second part of the Act was intended to strengthen the law to prevent cruelty to children and now imposed penalties not only for wilful cruelty, but for negligence as well. Nineteen statutes which contained the law relating to reformatory and industrial schools were

1. Education (Provision of Meals) Act 1906.

consolidated and the Secretary of State given power to transfer offenders under the age of fourteen from reformatory to industrial schools, thus enabling the now artificial distinction between them to be broken down. The Act also revised the treatment of juvenile offenders in Courts. Children were now to be kept separate from adult criminals at their trial and afterwards were to receive treatment suited to their special needs and not punishment fitted to the crime. For the first time juvenile courts were set up in which young offenders and non-offenders were charged and heard in a separate room or at a separate time from the adult court. The imprisonment of children under sixteen was abolished and special places of detention, remand homes, aided by Treasury grants, were to be set up to avoid any child being sent to goal before his trial. Thus the Act moved away from punishing the child and concentrated on treatment and care. It did not undermine parental authority, however. The parent was drawn into the problem and his share in responsibility was stressed. Finally, the Act tried to bring under some control the large number of small voluntary homes which received poor children but which were not subject to inspection as certified Poor Law homes or industrial schools. Provided these homes were supported wholly or partly

by voluntary contributions the Secretary of State was empowered to arrange for them to be visited and inspected. There was, however, no system of registration of voluntary homes at this time, many were unknown to the central government department and, unless gross neglect or cruelty was found, no steps could be taken to compel improvements or to close the Home if the Inspector's advice and warning were not heeded.

The beginning of the twentieth century saw not only the Children Act but also an investigation of the Poor Law administration. Now that the causes of destitution were being understood and made known, the Poor Law methods of dealing with distress called for examination. In 1905 the Government set up a Royal Commission into the working of the poor laws which reported in 1909. The Commission was not unanimous and produced majority and minority reports. The majority report tried to build on the existing Poor Law structure, improving the character of its administration and supplementing it by voluntary aid. In this way an improved Poor Law authority would be responsible for providing the necessary services for the destitute child at a standard in keeping with more enlightened knowledge and care.

The minority report did not attempt to build on the Poor Law structure. It believed that the Poor Law had failed and recommended its breakup. Its functions should be transferred (on a specialized basis) to appropriate departments of the local authorities.

"What is required is some social machinery, of sufficient scope, to bring automatically to light, irrespective of the parent's application or even of that of the children, whatever child destitution exists."

They therefore recommended that:

"the only practicable way of securing this unity of administration, and also the most desirable reform is, in England and Wales, to entrust the whole of public provision for children of school age (not being sick or mentally defective) to the Local Education Authorities under the supervision of the Board of Education; these Local Education Authorities having already in their Directors of Education and their extensive staffs of teachers, their residential and their day feeding schools, their arrangements for medical inspection, and treatment, their School Attendance Officers and Children's Care Committees, the machinery requisite for searching out every child destitute of the necessities of life, for enforcing parental responsibility and for obviating by timely pressure and assistance, the actual crisis of destitution." 1.

Despite propaganda and publicity given to the minority report by Mrs. Sidney Webb, there was no direct legislation. Instead the President of the Local Government Board undertook what he called "revolution by administration" and in this way many of the proposals of the

1. Separate Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws and the Relief of Distress. (1909)

minority report which had been actively publicized were gradually put into practice. The report was, certainly, responsible for the growth of a more specialized and departmental approach to the social services.

The 1914-18 War forced some problems to the public notice in an atmosphere of greater responsibility and understanding. Among these problems was the increased number of illegitimate children born in the war years and their high mortality rates. By 1918 illegitimate births were 6.26% of all live births in England and Wales and the death rate of illegitimate children in the first year of life was 186 per thousand compared with 91 per thousand among babies legitimately born. This represented a serious wastage of infant life. Although the infant welfare services had grown throughout the country and the setting up of maternity and infant welfare clinics with staffs of skilled health visitors and midwives working with the family had become the responsibility of local authorities, there still remained the problem for the child of his illegitimate existence.

It was now for the first time that steps were taken to destroy the fact of illegitimacy by creating a legal status for the child through the process of adoption. A demand now grew for some permanent

safeguard for the illegitimate child. This was embodied in the First Adoption Act of 1926. It concerned itself with the legality of the adoption procedure, the change of the legal status and with the natural and adopting parents. In the same year a Legitimacy Act was also passed by which illegitimate children could be legitimated and re-registered by the subsequent marriage of their parents. The child received a specially privileged position in Poor Law administration. This is seen in the development of regulations governing boarding out and the alternatives to workhouse care. The Royal Commission in 1909 had recommended that:

"effective steps should be taken to secure that the maintenance of children in the workhouse be no longer recognized as a legitimate way of dealing with them."

Consequently, a more active policy of boarding them out, placing them in certified schools and institutions, in scattered or cottage homes, in Poor Law schools or of emigrating them abroad was now developed.

Considerable progress was now being made in removing children from the ordinary wards of the workhouse and finding accommodation for them elsewhere. In 1913 the Poor Law Institutions Order prohibited children from the age of three up to sixteen years from being maintained in a general workhouse for more than six weeks. The 1914-18 War made it impossible for Guardians to proceed with

any building plans but despite this by 1918 50.2% of the indoor Poor Law children were in separate institutions provided wholly for the reception and maintenance of children. At the end of the war the departmentalisation of services previously unified in the Poor Law was the subject of a committee set up under the Chairmanship of Sir Donald McClean K.B.E., M.P.,

"to consider and report upon the steps to be taken to secure the better co-ordination of Public Assistance in England and Wales and upon such other matters affecting the system of Local Government as may from time to time be referred to it." 1.

The recommendations of the Report for the unification of the existing services were not entirely followed but resulted in 1918 in the absorption of the Local Government Board in the Ministry of Health which now became responsible for the administration of the poor laws. While the provision of extended boarding out, removal from the workhouse, and the provision of scattered homes extended the child's freedom to develop a normal life, the provision of skilled staff with understanding was sadly lacking. The need for a more skilled Poor Law staff was emphasised by the development of the various social services and the higher standards required by them in education, in the medical and dental

1. Report on Transfer of Functions of Poor Law Authorities in England and Wales 1918.

attention given to children and in the care of young babies.

Aptitude and ability were now regarded as all important in the development of the Poor Law child. The first report of the Ministry of Health stated that:

"All the Inspectors emphasize the value of school reports and co-operation with the teachers as a means of discovering special talent indicating the occupation in which children are likely to succeed."

1. The Probation Service had begun its roots in 1876 with the Church of England Temperance Society, which had formed Police Court Missionaries. These were strengthened in 1887 with the Probation of First Offenders Act. In 1907, Courts were permitted to appoint full-time paid officers in the Probation of Offenders Act. In 1908, the Criminal Justice Act made the appointment compulsory.

CHAPTER VI

Concern for the Offender

The nineteen twenties period was marked by a growing interest in the treatment of the offender. Home Office inspectors pleaded for greater facilities, in the places of detention, for children, in order that more and better information could be collected in the light of which a diagnosis of the delinquency could be made. The more difficult type of child was now being sent to the Home Office Reformatory Schools, the less difficult being placed on probation or dealt with by fines or binding over.^{1.} Of the two types of school the Reformatory was used for young people who had committed offences against the law and generally were above school leaving age. The Industrial Schools were for young offenders and for those children neglected or brought before the court in their own interests. Gradually the distinction between them was breaking down and it was becoming apparent that a better procedure would be to match the child, rather than the offence to a particular type of school. In 1924 the Government set

1. The Probation Service had found its roots in 1876 with the Church of England Temperance Society, which had formed Police Court Missionaries. These were strengthened in 1887 with the Probation of First Offenders Act. In 1907, Courts were permitted to appoint full-time paid officers in the Probation of Offenders Act. In 1925, the Criminal Justice Act made the appointment compulsory.

up two departmental committees to deal with questions of importance, the prevalence of sexual offences against young persons which caused so many of them to be in need of protection, and the treatment of young offenders generally.

Both these Committees showed concern that many young people were found in undesirable surroundings without any guardianship being exercised by their parents and were therefore drifting into bad associations. No legal measure existed which enabled them to be brought before the Court for protection. The Young Offenders Committee recommended in 1924 that Juvenile Courts should consider and take appropriate measures in the case of these two groups.

This Committee was also concerned about the different ways in which neglected children were dealt with administratively, some being brought before the Court and committed to Industrial Schools (where they might be boarded out) or to the care of fit persons, and others, by far the largest number, whose unsatisfactory parents were destitute, being received into the care of the Poor Law where they were boarded out, placed in workhouses or infirmaries, in Poor Law schools, cottage or scattered homes, or certified voluntary homes.

In 1933 there was passed a consolidating Act, the main provisions of which were based upon the recommendations of the Young Offenders Committee of 1927. The Children and Young Persons Act of 1933 now made closer the link between work for neglected and delinquent children and the work of the local education authorities, and further separated the care of neglected children from the Poor Law. The main important changes in the law which were provided dealt with the constitution and the procedure of the juvenile courts, the duties and responsibilities of local education authorities in this field, and the treatment of boys and girls brought before the courts.

The Act defined a child as one up to the age of fourteen and a young person as between fourteen and seventeen. It is divided into six parts, the first of which defines the criminal offence of wilful cruelty and wilful neglect committed against a child by which the perpetrator could be dealt with and the child brought before the juvenile court for care and protection. The second part consolidated the legislation restricting the employment of children and regulating their street trading and employment in entertainment. Part III of the Act dealt with the constitution and machinery of the juvenile courts first set up under the Children

Act of 1908 and now extended to include boys and girls up to the age of seventeen. The powers of protection for children were enlarged by extending the age range of children and young persons, governed by the Act, from sixteen to seventeen and by widening the definition of the need for care or protection which now covered the important points raised by the two earlier departmental committees. A person can now be defined as being in need of care or protection if he is

"a child or young person who, having no parent or guardian or a parent or guardian unfit to exercise proper care and guardianship or not exercising proper care and guardianship, is either falling into bad associations or exposed to moral danger, or beyond control or is ill treated or neglected in a manner likely to cause his unnecessary suffering or injury to health." 1.

The object of the juvenile court was now to be not punishment alone - "the court shall have regard to the welfare of the child" - but rehabilitation and even social service, and justices were to be specially selected for it on the grounds of experience and interest. Local education authorities had a duty now to provide the magistrates with information about the family and school background of the boys and girls

for giving training to enable boys and girls to take

1. Children and Young Persons Act - Sect. 61.
1933.

who appeared before the Court, and on them, not on the police or 'any person' was laid the primary responsibility for bringing before the Court children and young persons in need of care or protection.

Emphasis on the constructive and educational purpose of the remand home is now seen in the transfer of the duty to provide them from the police to the local education authorities; and the fact that remand homes could only be used as places of safety for boys and girls in need of care or protection, the use of public assistance institutions being prohibited by Remand Home Rules issued after the Act. This definite separation of public assistance from protective work is further seen in the powers given now to the local education authorities to act as a fit person to whose care, if the authority gave its consent, boys and girls could be committed by the Court. The local authorities now had a duty to board out children committed to them and the Home Secretary was empowered to make rules governing the method of fostering.

The fourth part of the Act abolished the distinction between reformatory and industrial schools. They both became schools "approved" by the Home Office for giving training to enable boys and girls to take their place in society. They thus became known as

Approved Schools and a maximum period was laid down for the detention of children and young persons in them. Boys and girls in need of care and protection because they were beyond control at home could now, as an alternative to being sent to an approved school be placed under the supervision of a probation officer or other suitable persons.

The fifth part of the Act dealt with the care given to neglected or homeless children by the voluntary homes or orphanages and preventive, rescue and other voluntary children's homes. Voluntary homes were now required to send particulars to the Secretary of State.

The sixth part of the Act dealt with administration. The Central Government department was the Home Office, while administration of the care of children was the responsibility of local education committees.

The main feature of the Children and Young Persons Act is that it sets a standard of welfare and rehabilitation for the delinquent and the neglected children and those in need of care which had never previously been approached.

By 1938, those experienced in the work of the Approved School were beginning to wonder whether too

elaborate administrative machinery was too heavily weighted on the side of institutional and family care and too little emphasis put on the preventive social services. Too often the solution to a child's need was only found through the juvenile court when the boy or girl had reached the age of fifteen or sixteen and committed one or more serious offences.

"Everything therefore points to a pressing need for machinery for the ascertainment and recognition at an early age of those children who will require special supervision and care and for effective steps to be taken to give such help as is necessary before they become victims of neglect and social failure." 1.

The war years 1939-45 showed the importance of the family group. Many mothers were needed to work in the factories. Fathers were usually on service and so the State had to intervene by providing residential nurseries. These nurseries were opened up and down the country under voluntary organisations or by the local authorities in areas outside the bombing ranges, at first with financial help from America and later supported by Treasury Grants. Exclusive of public assistance children it was estimated that 15,000 war nursery places would be needed by the end of 1942.

1. Fourth report of the Children's Branch. 19 8.

In fact, 13,000 places were achieved, and of the 415 residential nurseries which came into existence in reception areas, five-sixths were for children evacuated from the London region. It became possible to observe on a fairly extensive scale, therefore, the effect upon small children of complete separation and life without a family and to measure its influence at various stages of growth. Studies of this kind were made by Anna Freud and Dorothy Burlingham in the Hampstead Nursery.^{1.}

Detailed observation showed that it was not so much the fact of separation to which the child reacted abnormally as the form in which the separation took place.

"The child experiences shock when he is suddenly and without preparation exposed to dangers with which he cannot cope emotionally. In the case of evacuation the danger is represented by the sudden disappearance of all the people whom he knows and loves. Unsatisfied longing produces in him a state of tension which is felt as shock."

Other research was carried out which showed the importance of the family as a unit and how the individual valued status and acceptance in the family. A group of social biologists at Peckham maintained after a great deal of investigation

and "that if a family is well and happy within itself and well integrated in the social life of

1. Young Children in War Time. Dorothy Burlingham and Anna Freud. (Allen and Unwin 1942)

its area, the individuals in it can expand to the best of their ability. The family itself bears a relationship to society rather like the child to the mother and cannot function properly without acceptance and support." 1.

The war not only disrupted the effective role of the family for the security and physical and moral health of the child but also exposed on a wide scale the conditions of failure of many families whose standards were far below those to which the general public had attained. Concern was now expressed for a more imaginative and constructive approach to the problem of the neglectful mother and her family.

There was also, in the course of the war, a great number of children requiring to be taken into public care because of disrupted family life and this imposed a severe strain on the administration and on the various voluntary children's homes and public assistance institutions. In a letter to "The Times" of 15th. July 1944, Lady Allen of Hurtwood drew attention to the fact that the quality of care given to homeless children was generations out of date. She pointed out the nature of the administration, the central control divided between three government departments, the inadequate nature of standards and inspection, and the lack of trained personnel in all fields.

1. Young Children in War Time. Dorothy Burlingham and Anne Freud. (Allen and Unwin 1942).

Further information was issued, this time in the form of a pamphlet, "Whose Children?" by Lady Allen. Public concern was now great especially after the violent death of one boy who had been taken from a neglectful home and committed by the court for care to the local authority. This concerned the case of ^{1.} Dennis O'Neill. The fact that a boy had been taken from his own home because of bad conditions to a farm where the foster parents neglected and ill-used him to such an extent that he died, suggested that there had been a serious lack of supervision by the local authority.

Scotland under the Chairmanship of Mr. J. L. Clyde, K.C. The Clyde report did not, however, have the impetus of the Curtis inquiry.

The Lee Committee went several months examining witnesses, visiting institutions and foster homes and interviewing officials and members of local authorities, and in the late summer of 1944 produced the first reports of inquiry ever undertaken into the care of the several different groups of deprived children.

1. See report by Sir Walter Monckton on the circumstances which led to the boarding-out of Dennis and Terence O'Neill. May 1945. H.M.S.O. Cmd. 6636.

arrangements.

*Responsibility for providing or supervising the substitute home for the deprived child may be taken by the State, by local authorities, by

CHAPTER VII

The Curtis Report and its Effects

A committee of inquiry was set up to look into the

"existing methods of providing for children who from loss of parents or from any cause whatever are deprived of a normal home life with their own parents or relatives, and to consider what further measures should be taken to ensure that these children are brought up under conditions best calculated to compensate them for the lack of parental care."

The committee was under the Chairmanship of Miss Myra Curtis, principal of Newnham. A similar inter-departmental Committee was appointed to study the problem in Scotland under the Chairmanship of Mr. J.L. Clyde, K.C. The Clyde report did not, however, have the breadth of the Curtis inquiry.

The two Committees spent seventeen months examining witnesses, visiting institutions and foster homes and interviewing officials and members of local authorities, and in the late summer of 1946 produced the first reports of inquiry ever undertaken into the care of the several different groups of deprived children.

The Curtis Report showed immediately the complicated position of the existing statutory and administrative arrangements.

"Responsibility for providing or supervising the substitute home for the deprived child may be taken by the State, by local authorities, by

voluntary organisations or by private persons. The State through the Ministry of Health supervises the work of local authorities in caring for destitute children under the Poor Law. Such children may, however, be accepted by voluntary Homes independently of any public authority, in which case, if the voluntary organisations concerned receive subscriptions from the public, the State, through the Home Office, brings them under inspection; or it may do so through the Ministry of Health if that Department "certifies" the Homes as suitable for Poor Law children or if Poor Law children are received in them. If the voluntary organisations receive no public subscriptions and do not take in Poor Law children their Homes may, if they take children under 9 years of age "fostered" for reward or placed by private persons (not the parents or guardians) for adoption, be supervised by local authorities under the direction of the Minister of Health through the child life protection service. Those over 9 received for reward and those for whose maintenance no reward is given are not the care of any public authority. Children removed from their homes by order of a juvenile court may, if "committed to" and accepted by the local authority as a "fit person", be entitled to full parental care and guardianship from the authority; normally this responsibility is exercised by boarding the child out under rules laid down by the Home Office but if there is difficulty in finding a foster home, the child may be left in a public assistance institution, in which case the Ministry of Health is concerned." 1.

The Committee felt that the children were inadequately cared for in nurseries, residential homes and foster homes. There seemed to be a complete lack of understanding of the child's needs. The child in these Homes was not recognised as an individual with his own rights and possessions, his own life to live and his own contribution to offer. He was merely one of a

1. See Report of Care of Children Committee. 1946.

1. See Curtis Report. Para. 413.

large crowd, eating playing and sleeping with the rest, without any place or possession of his own or any quiet room to which he could retreat. Nor was there any encouragement for the child to feel that there was anyone who was particularly interested in him and to whom he could turn. The effects of this on the children differed according to their ages. The smaller children showed in their behaviour towards visitors a clamouring for attention and petting. The older children displayed a certain amount of slowness and backwardness. A great deal of destructiveness and lack of concentration was apparent. In Homes where individual love and care had been given, there was a noticeably different state of affairs. No undue interest was shown in visitors and the children were easily and happily employed in their own occupations and games.^{1.}

The Curtis Report throughout emphasized the need for more personal care and attention. They drew attention to the undue attention given to the cleanliness of the building in preference to the children inside it, which in turn raised questions regarding the qualification of the staff.

So urgent and acute was this need felt to be that an interim report was published by the inter-departmental Committee in March 1946 recommending the

1. See Curtis Report. Para. 418.

formation of a Central Training Council in child care and the provision of special courses of training to provide for the recruitment of staff of better quality who would bring improved status into the work.

The Committee recommended a unified and a comprehensive form of administration. The divided responsibility at local and central levels should be changed radically. At the central government level the relevant powers under the Poor Law Act, Children and Young Persons Act, Public Health Acts and Adoption of Children Act were to be concentrated in one department which would be responsible for the care of deprived children. The actual provision for the deprived child should lie with the voluntary organisations and the local authority aided by exchequer grants; the local authority having immediate responsibility and working through a single 'ad hoc' committee with specialist executives to be known as Children's Officers.

The Committee then emphasized the value of boarding out for suitable children and recommended that local authorities should make vigorous efforts to extend this form of care. Institutional care, they felt, should be modelled to a far greater extent on the family group system. Small mixed families in group homes

of a maximum of eight boys and girls were considered the ideal form of institutional care.

The after-care of boys and girls leaving the Homes was a matter of deep concern. The Committee stressed the need for support and understanding to be given to the adolescent at this time, the need for co-operation with the Juvenile Employment service, for the provision of hostel accommodation, and for adolescents going into employment in strange places to be aware of someone to whom they could turn for help if necessary.

Certain recommendations were made in the field of Remand Homes and Approved Schools. While it was hoped that committals of children for care or protection to the local authority would increase as a result of their recommendations the Committee still wished the Approved Schools to be available for children likely to benefit from their special kind of social training. They also emphasized the need for remand homes to be used much more as places of short stay observation and not for purposes of punishment. Following the recommendations of the Curtis Committee, the Children Act of 1948 (which applies to England and Wales and with some adaptations to Scotland), attempted to bring together under one responsibility the care of all homeless children. Local authorities now had a duty to receive into care children whose parents were temporarily or permanently unfit or unable to care

for them and to carry out the duties laid on the local authorities by earlier child protection measures which were not repealed. The Courts could now comit to the Local Authority as 'fit person' children brought before the Court in preference to approved schools. The age up to which children were to be received into care by the Local Authority was to be ~~seventeen~~ years instead of sixteen years of age as in the old Poor Law regulations and they could remain in care up to the age of eighteen instead of sixteen years of age as previously. The various ways in which the local authorities could provide for the children in their care are set out in Part II of the Act:-

"A Local Authority shall discharge their duty to provide accommodation and maintenance for the child in their care

- (a) by boarding him out on such terms as to payment by the authority and otherwise as the authority, subject to the provisions of this Act and regulations thereunder determine; or
- (b) where it is not practicable or desirable for the time being to make arrangements for boarding out by maintaining the child in a home provided under this part of the Act or by placing him in a voluntary home the managers of which are willing to receive him." 1.

Special emphasis was laid on the primary duty of the local authority to board the children out in foster homes.

This was the nearest possible approach to a normal home life for the child. There were also important new provisions covering the adolescent after he had left school. A Local Authority had the duty to advise and befriend any child up to the age of eighteen and living in their area who had left the care of a Local Authority or a voluntary organisation since leaving school. Hostels could also now be provided for adolescents right up to the age of twenty one and other young people who had come from normal homes could live in them too.

The voluntary organisations became integrated in the field of child care. Every voluntary home had now to be registered at the Home Office and a new and stricter control was imposed. The Secretary of State was empowered to make regulations governing their methods of boarding out and emigrations.

"Regulations may impose requirements as to the accommodation and equipment to be provided in homes, authorise the Secretary of State to give directions prohibiting the provision for the children in any home of clothing of any description specified in the directions and impose requirements as to the medical arrangements to be made for protecting the health of children." 1.

It was the duty of every Local Authority to set up a Children's Committee and special Children's Officers. The Local Authority could not appoint a Children's Officer without consultation with the Secretary of State. This enabled the Home Office

1. Children Act 1948. Sect. 31.

to begin to ensure that administrative officers with similar standards and field experience and academic background would be appointed up and down the country. The concept in the Children Act of laying on the local authorities a duty to restore those received into care to their own natural home was entirely new and had not been found even in the temporary nature of the care given by the old public assistance committees. The new duty to restore the child emphasized the casework aspect of the new service. The development of casework made it possible to consider working with the problem parents with a view to eventual restoration of the child to the family. One important provision of the old Poor Law had been deliberately excluded from the Children Act. The Poor Law legislation had made the abandoning of a child changeable to the Local Authority a punishable offence. No such deterrent now existed. The aim of the new legislation was not to punish bad parents but to act in the interests of the child. To force him back on an unwilling parent, or to discourage by punishment the parent who might later want to claim him again, was thought detrimental to the child's welfare. From this changed approach, building on and preserving what was good in the family, however week and unsatisfactory, it became possible to see

the problem of the deprived child and the failing parents as an interrelated whole.

The essence of the Children Act was that it emphasized community participation, restoration to the family and the individual fulfilling of the child's best interests. The 1948 Act stimulated a development in the child welfare service which led very quickly to change, to awareness of the best form of treatment for the child and later, to a knowledge of the conditions leading to deprivation.

At first the administrative problems were acute. Reception into the care of the Local Authority was now made on the judgement of need rather than on a test of destitution. This meant that more children were brought into care. The Courts also made increasing use of their extended powers to commit both young offenders and children neglected or beyond control to the Local Authority. In two years the number of committed non-offenders rose by one in twenty. The following tables show the percentages of guilty offenders and non-offenders committed to fit persons in the years 1947, 1950 and 1953:-

		Total guilty offenders		Percentage committ- ed to <u>fit persons</u>
1947	-	57,562	-	5% (307)
1950	-	69,085	-	9% (620)
1953	-	63,191	-	1% (666)

		<u>Total non-offenders</u>		<u>Percentage committed to fit persons</u>
1947	-	4,182	-	43% (1,809)
1950	-	4,531	-	48.5% (2,200)
1953	-	5,249	-	41% (2,156)

The 1946 Curtis Committee had estimated the numbers of deprived children in the care of local authorities as about 46,000. By November 1949 the numbers had risen to 55,255 and by 1953 had reached a peak figure of 65,309. This heavy increase threw a great strain on the new administrative departments and on the existing accommodation for children. But the accommodation which was available was not necessarily the right kind or quality in which to carry out the principles of care represented by the new service. The Children's Committees inherited the Poor Law residential nurseries, usually in the grounds of the public assistance workhouse or hospital, the grouped cottage homes, the large district school type of home and the all-purpose receiving homes, which now had to meet the needs of a much more heterogeneous group of children in an individual way, taking into account the sort of family situation which had brought each one into care.

Many more children were now received as a result of a temporary breakdown of the family, where

for example illness or hospital treatment of the mother made this necessary as well as cases of abandonment or committal by the Courts. The first group represented the majority. This was known as the "short-stay" group and these need general short-term care. The second group, the "long-term" group required long-term treatment and often a permanent substitute home. The Local Authorities, therefore, turned their attention to the immediate provision of shelter, which would be of the right kind and quality.

The unsuitable premises were first of all closed down. The children were moved into newly built or adapted homes more suited to the need of the child in care. The Committees purchased buildings which they felt would be conducive to a communal atmosphere. What they looked for were pleasant homes in pleasant surroundings as opposed to the previous barrack-type homes. Homes integrated on the new estates were opened. These were known as the family group homes. They contained a small group of children usually about six to twelve of varied ages from two to fifteen years, of both sexes, in the charge of a Housemother who might be a single woman or a married woman with her husband living in the home and going out to his usual work. At the end of 1954 some four hundred family group homes were in use.

As has been seen previously the 1948 Children Act emphasized the preservation of the family; the Local Authority should not intervene to receive the child into their care unless it was necessary in the interests of his welfare.^{1.} Where the child was received into care, there developed a warmer closer relationship and even where children were received into care for temporary periods foster parents were sought for them. Less use was made of the large home and even of the new residential nurseries. There was also now a continuous emphasis on the restoration of the child to the family after he had been received into care, which required the worker to support, help and enable the parents to become capable of coming to terms with their own difficulties. Much consideration is therefore given to a form of care which will satisfy the needs of the child or adolescent both individually and as a vital and valued member of the community.

1. Children Act 1948. Sect. I (1)c.

CHAPTER VIII

Skellow Hall Children's Home

It is at this stage necessary to examine in some detail a Children's Home and consider its suitability as a Child Welfare Institution. This will entail an examination of the application of the principles underlying Child Welfare Services today outlined above. It will also be necessary to show the varying degrees of emphasis, distortion or new departures from such principles.

Skellow Hall was bought by the West Riding County Council just after the 1948 Children Act. It was part of the general programme of the County of purchasing buildings for new Children's Homes. Skellow Hall itself dates back to the seventeenth century and there are in existence documents giving evidence of its occupation by Oliver Cromwell's men when they were in the area. Although some six miles from Doncaster and in a heavy industrial area, the Hall has many pleasant surroundings. The grounds of the Hall are extensive and varied. There are two open fields, gardens and a wooded area. This in itself creates an atmosphere of freshness and it is hard to believe that nearby there are any pits at all. The setting as described above partly explains the reason for wanting to turn Skellow

Hall into a Children's Home. This was the type of environment the newly created Children's Department felt deprived children could develop in. Here was a chance for affection and security, typical of a normal family, to flourish.

The Hall was at first used as a Nursery. But it was not long before the pressure of children in care (the increase due to the new stipulation of the 1948 Act) required its use for other children. The Nursery was transferred to Wyndthorpe, a village, four or five miles from Doncaster, and Skellow Hall became a Children's Home for some thirty boys.

background The father had a long period of illness and the son's skills became neglected. This entailed various visits from the Child Care Officer. Meanwhile the father's mother left and the situation deteriorated. The father, after releasing all first to part with the child, at last requested that a home be found for the boy. All efforts in this direction failed and so he was accordingly assigned to residential accommodation.

Child P's background was far more complex than A's. The case was first brought to the notice of the Children's Officer by the Chief Schooling Officer of the West Riding who stated that P's stay in a Hostel for

CHAPTER IX

Background of Children Coming into Skellow Hall - (1953-60)

In order to understand the 'deprived child' and his behaviour more fully, let us investigate the backgrounds of various children who have come into Skellow Hall.

Child A. was admitted in 1952 at eleven years of age. He had previously been living with his father in an old cottage. His mother had deserted his father in 1943, when the child was two. Although the father's sister lived next door, she was unable to give much assistance as she had, in addition to her own family, her aged father to look after. The father had a long period of illness and the house and child became neglected. This entailed various visits from the Child Care Officer. Meanwhile the father's sister left and the situation deteriorated. The father, after refusing at first to part with the child, at last requested that a home be found for the boy. All efforts in this direction failed and so he was accordingly admitted to residential accommodation.

Child B's background was far more complex than A's. The case was first brought to the notice of the Children's Officer by the Chief Education Officer of the West Riding who stated that B's stay in a Hostel for

Maladjusted Children had now come to an end. The report of the County Psychologist on the boy, while he was at the Hostel, ran as follows:-

"In the above boy's case it has been very difficult to discern any evidence of maladjustment which could not be attributed to his unsatisfactory home. He settled down quickly and while there was a carry-over of his aggressive behaviour which made him a problem in the school of his home district this quickly evaporated and he very soon established good relations with other children and with his teachers in school so much so that he spent a short holiday break at the home of one of the teachers from the school.

This boy is friendly, good natured and well balanced and with normal home care would give no cause for concern. It is essential however that the boy should be followed up carefully on return home for, while so many homes such as his appear to make no improvement, the extent to which the boy can adjust himself to approximately the same conditions as obtained when he left is some measure of the value of what has been done for him while he has been away from home." 1.

The boy did give further trouble and the headmaster, who had complained before of his bad behaviour, this time quoted many cases of bullying, of begging for meals at the School Canteen and many other episodes. This was supplemented by a report from the Divisional Medical Officer who stated that B was out of control both at school and at home and suggested the home conditions might be the cause of the boy's retrogression. In view of this a Children's Home would probably be the best course to take.

A visit was made to the home. A report was

given on the district:-

"The street presents a picture of slum property at its worst. There are no gardens and the front door opens straight on the street which is narrow and sunless. The back street is badly paved and always looks sordid and dirty. There is a large proportion of "problem families" in the neighbourhood and the moral tone is of an extremely low standard. The boy's home is in this setting. The rooms are small and dark and have only recently been wired for electricity. The accommodation consists of living room, kitchen, two bedrooms and an attic. There is an outside W.C. but no bathroom." 1.

The boy's family consisted of the mother whose eldest child was the result of an incestuous union with her father. Then there was a child born before the marriage. Of the three youngest children remaining it was strongly rumoured that the lodger was the father of at least two of them. B's father and mother quarrelled continuously and it appeared that the mother despised the father because of his blindness. Neither parent was interested in B and were both anxious that he should go away.

The observation of the Child Welfare Officer concerned emphasized the need for removal.

"Although I have come across many houses in this area where physical conditions are as bad as B's home, I have seldom seen a child, even when neglected and ill-treated, who had looked quite as miserable as B. His parents do not show him any affection whatsoever, and in addition to this he has to face the situation of his mother sleeping with the lodger whilst his father stands by unable

to take any action about it. The boy is old enough to realize the significance of this and I am certain it has caused him a severe mental shock. It is recommended, therefore, that B should be recommended to a County Home." 1.

B was in view of this admitted to Skellow Hall in 1953 at the age of 13.

Child C. was brought by the N.S.P.C.C. before the Court in need of care and protection. 2. The

N.S.P.C.C. Officer presented the following report:-

"This family first came to my notice on the 8th. March 1949, when I received a complaint regarding the general home conditions. I visited on the 9th. March and found C's father about thirty four and mother about twenty nine. There were at that time seven children living in a cottage. The children were found to be very poorly dressed and their hair was dirty. They live in an old house, with two rooms on the ground floor and two bedrooms. There is a long garden at the rear of the cottage and an outside lavatory. The house was in a very dirty state. There was a foul smelling tin containing rubbish and ashes in the rear kitchen. There were no floor coverings. The furniture was old greasy and dilapidated. I saw the parents and told them I had received complaints of the dirty and badly clothed state of the children. The wife at this time was ill and should have entered hospital for an operation but refused to go. She was also in a filthy bodily state herself. I advised the mother to send the children to school regularly My next visit was on Friday 8th. July. The mother was dirty, it was a warm day, the baby was lying in its pram in a pat of cream coloured excreta and urine and was foul smelling. Flies were buzzing around this filth and the baby looked thin and under-nourished.

I again visited the house on Monday 25th. July. The house was very dirty. In the front bedroom there were two beds and a cot. There was

1. Child Welfare Officer's report on B. 1953.
2. See Children and Young Person's Act. Sect.62. 1933.

a piece of cloth on the floor with dried excreta thereon. The only food in the house was a crust of bread and a small piece of margarine besides two dead cabbages. There was a pile of dirty washing in the food pantry. I questioned the mother as to whether it was true that the children went round the village begging for food but she denied the truth of this." 1.

Further visits were made by the officer and it was found little improvement was made. In the interests of the children it was felt advisable to move the children out of that atmosphere into better surroundings. C. was therefore sent to Skellow Hall. He was admitted at the age of nine as well as his young brother, aged eight.

Child D. was admitted at the age of 13 in 1950. Prior to that he had been residing at the Stansfield View Hospital. He had been moved there from a woman who was described as his step-mother. In 1944 D. had been examined and classed as educationally sub-normal and had later been excluded from school. Efforts by the Education Department to secure a special school placement for the boy failed and he continued to reside with his step-mother and father. But after his father died his step-mother pressed for the boy to be admitted to some establishment with the result that he was placed in the special ward at Todmorden. D. was examined, the results of which suggested that he could not be

1. Report presented by N.S.P.C.C. Officer in 1952.

regarded as ineducable, if given special school training. He could not, therefore, be classed as mentally defective within the meaning of the Mental Deficiency Acts. As the Education Departments were still unable to provide a special school placement, which the boy really needed and as it was not possible for him to remain at Stansfield View Hospital, the transfer to Skellow Hall was arranged, and the boy's residence there was as a child in care under Section 1 of the Children Act 1948.

Child E. was evacuated from London during the war and came into the care of the County Council as a resident in the Rycroft Hostel when the evacuation scheme was closed down and hostels were transferred to County administration. E's brother who was born two years after E in 1941 was evacuated with him and the two of them lived together.

For a considerable time there was no contact by E's father and the only relative of whom the County Council was aware was the paternal grandmother who was living in Essex. E's mother had deserted her family whilst her husband was abroad during the war. E. had felt his father's lack of interest a good deal and the Essex County Council (who were financially responsible for E.) were asked to try to trace the man. In September 1947 Essex reported that E's father was a long-

distance lorry driver who had served a term of imprisonment in 1945. Both E and his brother were admitted to Skellow Hall in 1949.

Child F was admitted to Wyndthorpe Nursery when he was two years of age. The School Enquiry Officer had made out the following report:-

"The mother of F cohabited with the father and had eleven children by him. The father died in November 1948. Of all the children all but two are under seventeen years of age. Family circumstances have always been bad as F's father never appeared to work other than spasmodically. The mother had worked until a recent illness since the death of the father, but this seems only to have aggravated the general position in the house. The family is at present dependent upon National Assistance and Family Allowances. Home conditions can only be described as appalling. The children are dirty, untidy and generally neglected. Five of them were supplied with clothing in December 1948 under Section 51 of the Education Act and within a month the same five were reported as being inadequately clothed at school. When seen, it was impossible to recognize the new clothing which was filthy and torn. Shoes were tied with string and did not appear to have been cleaned. In addition the children were dirty. The mother was seen and she promised to make some improvement but this never materialised.

The mother has recently adopted a hostile attitude toward the Authority, particularly the School Authority and some difficulty has been experienced through this. The Headmaster's offer to cooperate in the discipline of the children was accepted in the wrong spirit. The school attendance records of the family are bad and particularly in recent days when it appears the children are doing what they like. There is every evidence that they are out of control. The whole family is shifty, sly and furtive, largely as a result of home influence.

In March, three of F's brothers were before the Juvenile Court on a charge of breaking and entering. The case was dismissed under the Probation Officer's Act.

The difficulties that this woman is faced with have always been appreciated and she has been given chance after chance but no improvement ever resulted. Prosecution for non-attendance have been withheld from time to time in the hope that chances would be taken until it was realised that stronger steps would have to be taken." 1.

Out of this background F was taken. He was placed in the Nursery and at the age of six was transferred to Skellow Hall.

Child G was one of seven, born before his mother's marriage to another man. They were regarded as bad parents. They had appeared before a Court in April 1947 when the man was sent to prison for six months and his wife bound over for six months. The case again came to the notice of the N.S.P.C.C. in February 1949 when the house was found to be filthy. The N.S.P.C.C. gave a good deal of attention to the case to improve home conditions but on the 14th. October 1949 it was found necessary to take out a Place of Safety Order and on the 1st. November 1949 the children were committed to the care of the County Council under the Children and Young Persons Act 1933 (Section 67).

The children were placed in various homes and four of them including G were transferred to Skellow Hall in 1951.

Child H was admitted to Skellow Hall in 1953 at the age of thirteen, along with his brother who was then eleven. His father had been killed during the

war and his mother had remarried. Absences from school had been reported and H in 1952 appeared before the Court and was found guilty of malicious damage. He was put on probation for two years and sent to Skellow Hall.

The Probation Officer on examining the home background closer, found that the mother and step-father could not agree as to the best measures of treatment for the children. The mother resented the stepfather correcting them and the late father's relations who lived nearby threatened proceedings against him if he punished any of the children.

Other children were in residence but their backgrounds fall into one of the categories previously dealt with. Thus in the first year of existence as a Children's Home, Skellow Hall was used as a substitute home for children who had been neglected and who were in need of care and protection and for children who were in need of a place of safety. (Those who came under Section 1, Children Act). Some conclusions can be reached regarding the term "neglected". From the outlined cases it can be seen there are varying degrees of neglect. In the case of Child A neglect was due to circumstances somewhat beyond the father's control and whilst undoubtedly there was maternal neglect and

regularly sleep with the mother and father.

need for different surroundings, and care, there was at the same time affection. According to reports there were no serious behaviour difficulties. B's case differs a great deal. He has not only material neglect but complete neglect emotionally. The report reveals complete indifference for the boy from both mother and father. Also the child frequently witnesses his mother and the lodger together in the presence of his father. This degree of neglect of the child's well being renders him unmanageable and quite maladjusted.

C is materially neglected and to a certain extent deprived of affection but he is not alone. There are brothers and sisters along with him and the fact that they stick together may explain lack of serious behaviour difficulties here.

The "family" situation too in each background varies a great deal. In some cases there is a large family and parents do not make the effort to provide; in another the mother re-marries and the step-father pays little or no attention to the children. The case of H revealed a certain amount of resentment on the part of the children in this atmosphere. The case of B depicted a family situation of the worst possible type in which the mother despised the father and regularly slept with the lodger; all quite shattering

to a child. In a later chapter the response of these children to the atmosphere of a Children's Home will be carefully traced, explaining in some way the different patterns of behaviour.

The case of H presented a departure from the previously normal procedure at Skellow Hall. Prior to H's admission, the Children's Home had been used for 'Section 1' cases.¹ H was the first 'Section 5' case to be admitted. This section stated that if a child be brought before the Court and found guilty of some offence, the Court if it so desired could, instead of sending the child to an Approved School, hand it over to the Local Authority whose duty it was to act as a 'fit person' and provide a home for the child. This was only rarely applied at first as the authorities wanted to see the results of such a move. To transfer all offenders to Children's Homes at such an early stage would have been quite unwise.

To test the validity of Section 5 would involve gradual experiment. After H there was a steady flow of Section 5 cases. The next admission was Child I

1. Section 1 of the Children Act, which also contained previous sections of the 1933 Children and Young Persons Act, enabled the Local Authority to provide for deserted neglected, orphaned or children whose parent or parents were in some way unable to keep them.

at the beginning of 1954. He was seventeen years of age and had appeared before the Sheffield West Riding Juvenile Court in 1953 on the following charges:-

1. Wilful damage to thirteen panes of glass.
2. Breaking and entering a store with intent to commit a larceny.
3. Stealing a Post Office Savings Box.
4. Stealing a pedal cycle.

The Magistrates adjourned the case pending reports on the boy's suitability for Approved School training.

The following information was secured regarding the boy's earlier history. Because of his rheumatic tendencies he had been an out-patient attender at the Ash House Hospital School, remaining until the 19th. January 1951. The family were at this time living in Sheffield. It was apparently not possible for I to go to his parents upon leaving the Hospital School, as he was in fact transferred to the Sheffield County Borough Children's Department establishment. Here he had frequent attacks of rheumatic fever. On the 29th. June 1953 I was discharged from the Home and went to live with his parents, due to difficulties the Home had experienced with him. Apparently there had been pilfering and regular absconding to his parents home. Following his return home on the 29th. June the child result he was sent to the City General Hospital and

did not remain with his parents, but by a family arrangement went to live with a family friend and the lad was living here when he came before the Juvenile Court.

Conditions in both homes were unsatisfactory. The parents and a fourteen year old daughter had the use of one room only. A further girl was away from home in an approved school. The boy's school report indicated that he was unreliable, very lazy and below average ability. In accordance with the request of the Magistrates he was examined by one of the County Medical Staff to ascertain whether he was a case which should properly be dealt with under the Mental Deficiency Acts. The boy was reported not to be a mental defective within the meaning of the Act. The examining doctor gave I a mental age of eleven years ten months against the actual age of fifteen years ten months and an I.Q. of 78.

In view of the report that the boy was not classed as mentally defective, the Juvenile Court when he re-appeared before them on the 6th. November 1953, made an Order committing him to an approved school, and meanwhile he was sent to the Sheffield Remand Home for Boys (to await transfer to an Approved School). While there "I" had a further attack of rheumatic fever. As a result he was sent to the City General Hospital and

then to a Convalescent Home. He went back to the Remand Home in May 1954 and the Home Office had now to decide whether for health reasons, the boy was fit for Approved School training. It was decided that in view of his delicate health and the fact that he had responded well to the ordered routine of remand home life, the boy should not be sent to an Approved School. At the same time he could not be sent home as conditions there were appalling. In these circumstances, the County Council were approached regarding the possible reception into care of the boy upon the discharge of the Approved School order by the Secretary of State in pursuance of his powers under the fourth schedule of the 1933 Act. This course of action was agreed, the Approved School order was discharged on the 10th December 1954 and arrangements completed for the boy's reception into care by admission to Skellow Hall on the 16th December 1954.

Case J was admitted to Skellow Hall in December 1954. He had appeared before the Sheffield West Riding Court in November, the offence being larceny of pedal cycles (three cases). A report stated that J was the eldest of three children, living with father, mother and grandmother. Their home was a Council house, on a very large estate, containing three bedrooms and two living rooms. The conditions were extremely poor.

J had, according to his parents "been a devil at home". He had frequently turned on his mother and grandmother very viciously. The younger ones were also treated unmercifully by him. His language was regarded as atrocious (often calling his grandmother a bastard). His temper was uncontrollable and he would throw anything he could find. The Probation Officer in a further report stated:-

"He is completely out of control at home and the parents can do nothing with him.

His intelligence is extremely low and he is the type of boy who is easily led into trouble by other boys, in fact older boys tell him to do something and he does it without thought of the consequence. In spite of the poorness of the home, the parents appear to do what they can for the boy, but in a limited way. His conduct was such that his parents, in desperation, took him to the Sheffield Probation Officer for advice. Both parents have tried both kindness and corporal punishment with the boy, neither appearing to have any success.

Regarding his school life, J has a bad record for truancy. In his spare time he sometimes paints and draws in the home and tries to do some writing. Outside the home his parents have no knowledge whatsoever of his activities. He is inclined to wander the streets with other boys. He does not attend Sunday School or Youth Clubs." 1.

The boy was placed in a Remand Home and while he was there the consultant Psychiatrist made the following report:-

"From my examination of this boy, I concluded that he had an intelligence quotient of 66 and is therefore, seriously educationally subnormal and on the border line of mental deficiency. From

the Probation Officer I gather that his behaviour at home is in keeping with his degree of intelligence, and it appears that his behaviour so far has not been subject to any degree of control." 1.

The Superintendent of the Remand Home stated that the boy was -

"very slow and unsuccessful in everything he does. He is very little trouble from the disciplinary point of view, but it is only when mixing with boys of his own intellectual level, that he makes an effort. Most of this boy's faults can be traced back to this feeling of inferiority, but taking everything into account, he can be well behaved when he is under discipline and he feels secure." 2.

With this background J was admitted to Skellow Hall Children's Home.

Once again the individuality of each case is carefully studied. The Court was now able to decide whether an offender would benefit from an Approved School training or from the atmosphere of a Children's Home. In the cases of H, I and J it was considered more suitable for them in their development to put them in a Children's Home.

The next admission was Child K, who had been in the care of the County Council for many years. He was the illegitimate child of a woman who died in the Pontefract Institution.

As a schoolboy K had been recommended for

1. Report of Consultant Psychiatrist, Sheffield Remand Home, 1953.
2. Superintendent's Report, Sheffield Remand Home, 1953.

admission to a residential special school but a vacancy never arose. Upon leaving school, he had become the subject of a report under Section 57 (5) of the Education Act 1944 to the Mental Health Service for statutory supervision. Employment and lodgings could not be found for the boy and he had to continue in residence at Sandal Hall Mixed Children's Home, attending the Mental Health Occupation Centre in Wakefield. Since leaving school, K had become increasingly difficult in Sandal Hall, there being complaints of temper outbursts, pilfering and general unreliability. On the other hand, the Occupation Centre had reported favourably on the lad and more recently the Medical Officer of Health for Wakefield had suggested that the boy was fit for employment and suitable for placement in a foster home.

Owing to the absence of a suitable foster home an alternative suggestion that K should venture on the Y.M.C.A. Farm Training Scheme. Application was made, K was accepted on trial and went to the training centre at Mappleton. After twenty two days he was returned to Sandal Hall by the Y.M.C.A. authorities as unsuitable for training. He was reported to have proved extremely difficult on his training farm and to have run away on two or three occasions. He was said to have repeatedly refused to work and when working

if advised by the farmer how to do a job, K downed tools and declined to work further. Here again there were complaints of violent fits of temper and abuse hurled at the farmer and his workman. At Sandal Hall it was reported K had attacked the Housemother, and he had made an alledged attempt to strangle her.

K came into Skellow Hall at the age of seventeen.

By far the most complex background so far concerned Child L. L came from a family comprising father, mother, two daughters and three girls born of the cohabitation of the mother with another man, and another girl born of the cohabitation of the father with another woman. L was born in 1940 and since 1946 the parents lived apart.

The mother was living with a man who had tuberculosis. He had become a sanatorium patient in April 1952 but had discharged himself after a few months. The couple occupied part of a Nissen hut (two "rooms") with five of the girls. The 'bedroom' contained one double bed and three single beds.

L. was examined by the School Medical Inspector in 1946 when his intelligence quotient was deemed to be 96 and he was classified as maladjusted. He was then living with his mother and paternal grandmother.

It was said at that time that the mother did not get on well with her 'in-laws' or with her husband, whom she had left on several occasions claiming that he would not work. She stated that L's father and grandmother interfered with her management of the boy. The doctor deemed her neurotic. L was found to be of normal appearance and willing to co-operate during examination but very restless physically and mentally, self-willed, and not amenable to discipline. It was difficult to keep his attention directed to any particular task. At school, he was found to be a very tiresome child, who would not do what he was told and wandered about during lessons. He was rather tough at play. On admission to "Oakbank" a Children's Home in Keighley, in November 1946, he showed some evidence of negligent parenthood.

A report in March 1947 showed him to be enuretic, babyish, constantly seeking attention and backward at school. He was prone to screaming and shouting, and often begged food or favours from people at home or in the street. A report of July 1947 described him as not having improved and needing almost the whole time attention of one person.

On the 18th October 1947, the Oakbank establishment was closed and L was transferred to a Children's Home at Wetherby. In June 1948, L was found

unmanageable and deemed to need more strick control than was available in a children's home or an ordinary school. He wandered away from home or school on many occasions and the school head described him as almost needing the individual attention of one teacher. In September 1948 L had been observed to have several mild fits and the doctor was of the opinion that he was in the early stages of epilepsy.

In June, 1949, L had received a letter from his mother and another one from a woman with whom his father was co-habiting who described herself as his "new mum". Endeavours were made to prevent any future confusion of the boy's affections and loyalties and the parents were asked to consult together about his future and their own contacts with him.

Both parents put forward in August 1949 claims to have the care of L. Neither had a suitable home in which to receive him. There was a further letter to the boy from the father and the woman with whom he was living saying that L's mother was not his "mum" any more and that the father would in future look after everything. He was told that he must not write in such a strain.

A school report of May 1950, said that L could not conform to the normal life of the school and required a teacher to himself, that he was cheeky

quarrelsome and spiteful, that he took advantage of the weak and was most difficult to teach.

On 8th September 1950 L was admitted to the Oakbank Hostel, Keighley, which had now become an establishment for maladjusted boys, administered by the Education Committee. In March 1951, the Hostel reported L as very difficult to deal with, partly because of inherent instability, petit mal and separation from his parents. During Easter, 1951, he spent a holiday with his father which was not a success. He stole other children's toys, begged chocolates from a local shop, though he had plenty at home and told continuous lies. The father lost patience with him regularly.

Oakbank Hostel issued in April 1951 a report which suggested they were rather tired of L and did not feel very optimistic about chances of adjustment there. He was, therefore, discharged on 21st December 1951 as having derived maximum benefit from his stay. The Educational Psychologist wrote:-

"This boy was admitted from a small Children's Home in charge of Matron but on leaving Oakbank, we recommend that he be placed in a Home where there is both a man and a woman.

During his stay at Oakbank Hostel, he has imposed a great strain on himself, the other children and the adults responsible for his guidance. He has frequently stolen from other boys, begged on the streets and constantly tried to seek attention in every conceivable way.

Apart from any inherent instability these signs of maladjustment have been exaggerated because during his stay at Oakbank he has been rejected by his father and has had to face up to this rejection without the replacement of a father substitute, the direct result of which has been extreme restlessness, stealing and attention-seeking behaviour.

He has many desirable qualities which at present can only be glimpsed but would undoubtedly emerge to his advantage if the major difficulty of a parent substitute could be overcome. If foster parents could be found for him, prepared to show considerable understanding, insight and infinite patience, this would help to contribute more than anything else to the boy's stability" 1.

The mother was visited to discuss the possibility of L going home but conditions were still bad and it was discovered that she had little sympathy with L's difficulties and expressed herself as a believer in corporal punishment.

L was, therefore, sent to Oakroyd Hall, Birkinshaw (where there was a male Superintendent) and that establishment was transferred complete to "Hill Top", Ilkley, on 4th November 1952. While he was there, the Superintendent was able to get some response from him and the boy often tried to be helpful. He was far more of a difficulty outside than he was at home. The school at Ilkley complained about him a good deal, saying he made a nuisance of himself to girls and was very insubordinate and offensive under rebuke.

On the 28th July 1953 L was admitted to the Lingfield Epileptic Colony, under arrangements made by the Education Committee. The Colony complained later that L was troublesome and upsetting all the other boys. From here, he was transferred to Maudsley Hospital in 1954. From here he moved to St. Ebba's Hospital, Epsom, Surrey. The Psychiatric Social Worker reported that:-

"L should be able to leave hospital as soon as it could be arranged for him to move into Yorkshire. He has been quite free from grand mal fits for 6 months and has had only one petit mal attack in that time; this one not being observed by anyone else. L is still rather unstable and liable to ill temper, and his behaviour is very attention-seeking but on the whole he is more settled. He agrees now that many of his early fits were deliberate and he says he felt the need for more attention than he was otherwise getting. He will certainly need further supervision and training but I think this should be much more possible now that his fits are controlled." 1.

L left Epsom and was admitted to Skellow Hall on 31st July 1955. He was fifteen years of age.

Apart from L, in 1955 three more cases were admitted, two of which had backgrounds similar to those previously mentioned. One of them had been troublesome in a smaller Children's Home and it had been felt advisable to bring him to a larger home.

Case M was admitted to Skellow Hall in July

1. Report from St. Ebba's Hospital, Epsom, Surrey, made by Psychiatric Social Worker in 1954.

1955. He had previously spent some time in Mirfield Reception Centre. This was the first boy sent by the Reception Centre to Skellow Hall. He had been carefully observed by the staff there to decide where he should be sent. The Reception Centre Report shows how the Children's Department was now trying to organize rationally the placing of children.

M had failed to attend school regularly and his supposed father was brought before the Court for failing to send his boy to school. The latter maintained he had nothing to do with M (it was later found that M was illegitimate). M was, therefore, brought before a Juvenile Court under Section 62 of the Children and Young Persons Act. M did not attend, but his mother came and said that M was not well enough to appear. The Court doubted this statement and a Police Officer visited the family home immediately when he found M to be out. The boy was then brought before the Court (on a warrant) and committed to the care of the County Council under the Children and Young Persons Act 1933, in order to secure his regular attendance at school (Section 40 of the Act). The Probation Officer reported at the hearing that the mother and her husband differed over the management of M.

The Reception Centre Report reads:-

1. Condition on admittance
Clean, reasonably clothed and nourished.

2. Attitude to parents and fact of removal to Reception Centre.

Quite indifferent to parents except as providers. He did not show any evidence of minding being taken from home except on account of eurtalied liberty.

3. Emotional state.

Quite normal.

4. Physical abnormalities.

None.

5. Intelligence and Educational Attainment.

Chronological Age - 13 yrs. 5 months.

Mental Age - 11 yrs.

Intelligence Quotient - 82

Practical ability age - 8 yrs. 10 months.

Educational attainment - 10 yrs.

6. Character and Personality.

(a) Attitude to adults: Accepts affection and likes being made a fuss of. He is friendly and is an excessive talker who is always to the front with talk. Whilst not being over-eager to help he does a job conscientiously. He is a ready but unconvincing liar, lying mainly to avoid rebuke. He is easily upset and is very suspicious of people's good intentions. He likes sympathy and will look for it. He seeks attention and always plays to the crowd looking for praise and approbation.

(b) Attitude to other children: He likes company and is a born member of a gang, which he vainly tries to boss. He is naturally more at home with younger and smaller children, with whom he is friendly but scheming. He is only liked by his own little set. He saves his fits of temper for the younger ones and blusters when faced with opposition. Like most weaklings, he boasts, tells tall stories and loves to be thought a tough guy. He is very self-conscious.

(c) Personal ways: He is fond of games and shows fair ability. In any crowd M's voice would be heard. He is personally clean and can do all things normal for his age. For a boy he has too much personal vanity. This is probably due to his proneness to be found in the company of the girls, whom he comes to prefer as playmates.

7. Parental contact.

His mother has visited with undersirable regularity. The boy will do better when distance makes visiting less easy.

8. Suggested placement.

M will do best in a boy's home, large enough for him to have to battle for recognition." 1.

Like Child M, the following admission was the result of careful consideration from the Reception Centre. Child N's father had been killed in Holland in 1941 whilst serving in H.M. Forces. In 1947 the mother had remarried. There were three children of that marriage. Their home was described as reasonably clean and comfortable.

The mother's second marriage in 1947 coincided with N starting school and the mother stated that it was at this time when difficulties with the boy began to develop. He began to wander from home and had a tendency to "pick things up" which he saw lying around and to bring them home. It appeared that the boy did not take to his step-father who, owing to the nature of his work, had little time to spend with the boys.

N first came before the Juvenile Court on 24th February 1955 when along with his brother he was charged with several offences of housebreaking and stealing. He was placed on probation for two years. The Probation

Officer reported that apart from truancy from November 1955 to February 1956, and an appearance before the Juvenile Court on 21st February 1956, for tresspass on the railway, the boy appeared to be making an effort to behave. However, by 17th April 1956, he was again before the Juvenile Court on two charges of storebreaking and larceny with eight other cases to be taken into consideration. N was then on remand at the York Remand Home from that date until 29th May 1956. The Warden found the lad careless, irresponsible and lackadaisical on admission but reported all round improvement whilst there. His opinion was that there was nothing vicious in the boy's make-up and that on the whole he was not a bad lad, the need being one of adequate direction of the boy's leisure time.

When the boy appeared before the Halifax West Riding Juvenile Court at the adjourned hearing on 29th May, 1956, the magistrates made an order committing him to the care of the County Council, and he was on the same date admitted to the Westfields Reception Centre at Mirfield. As to the mother's attitude towards N, the Probation Officer formed the opinion that she was not unduly concerned at the possibility that the boy might be sent to an approved school. When seen after the boy's committal to care, she talked freely about her son and appeared eager to help in any way. Her

approach to the matter was, however, objective and unemotional and gave the impression that she had little maternal feeling for N.

The Reception Centre made a careful study of his background in order to make a suitable suggestion for placing. They found N was relieved to be at the Centre rather than at a Remand Home and that he showed a good deal of concern for his mother. But whilst he was concerned for his mother there were no signs of anxiety or undue disturbance. N was found to accept affection from adults but at the same time was not regarded as demonstrative. He gave the impression of being a friendly type of person, talkative and helpful.

"He is usually truthful and has been generally honest with things. He has, however, pilfered on several occasions. He tries to get round adults, seeking privileges but will take lenience as a sign of weakness. He likes sympathy and schemes to get it. He has a boy's normal dislike of correction which he needs continually over small things. He makes every effort to attract adult attention." 1.

The Centre suggested N should reside in a Children's Home and so he was admitted to Skellow Hall in August 1956 at the age of fourteen years.

The background of the next admission, Child O, was of a different nature to that of N. He was admitted to Skellow Hall in September 1956. He and his brother

(who at the time of O's admission had reached eighteen and was therefore out of care) were admitted to a Children's Home in the West Riding on 4th September 1946 following a transfer from a similar establishment in Gloucestershire. The actual circumstances under which the boys were received into care by the Gloucester Authority were not made known but as far as could be gathered, they were the illegitimate children of a woman who was in the habit of taking housekeeping jobs with men in various parts of the Midlands. She took no interest in the children. O was found to be mentally backward and in July 1947 he was ascertained as educationally sub-normal and was recommended for admission to a special school. At that time there was only limited accommodation for that type of child and it was not until April 1951 that he was found a vacancy at the Baliol Special School in Sedburgh. While there, he made good academic progress but his social development was regarded as poor. His behaviour difficulties seemed to stem from the fact that he actually missed affection and a home of his own. Therefore an approach was made to his grandmother in Anderford, who appeared a kindly sort of person, but due to her daughter's influence, she would not make any definite proposals for O to live with her when he attained school-leaving age. The boy's name was reported to the Mental Health

Authority under the provisions of Section 57 (5) of the Education Act 1944 in October 1954 and he returned when he was sixteen to Dryfield House Children's Home, Batley, where he had spent school holidays. It was not possible at first to find him suitable lodgings and employment. Finally a job was found for O through the Town Boys' and Girls' Agricultural Scheme. But O did not settle down there. His employer complained that O was unwilling to concentrate and would give way to tempers, often upsetting those around him.

Child P entered Skellow Hall at fifteen years of age. He was the illegitimate child of a union of his mother with a man who had been friendly with the family. The mother had three other children by her marriage, considerably older than P, and four apart from P with her present union.

P was committed to the care of the County Council by the Todmorden Juvenile Court on the 9th January 1956 having been found guilty of an attack upon a woman causing bodily harm. He was admitted to Westfields Reception Centre at Mirfield on the same date.

The Assistant Children's Officer at Huddersfield made out the following report:-

"This family first came to the notice of the Children's Department in 1950. The mother wrote complaining that the man she was living with was treating her children violently and that this was getting on their nerves. She had informed the

N.S.P.C.C. Inspector of this. Complaints were investigated but it was not until January of 1952 that there was felt to be any clear cut case. At this time one of the sons had a black eye and the N.S.P.C.C. Inspector summoned the man charging him with unnecessary suffering to his children. The charge was dismissed, the Magistrates holding that the act was an exercise of duty in punishing a child who was misbehaving.

The mother continued at intervals to renew her application for the admission of the children. On the 4th February P and his brother together with three other children were charged with a number of cases of larceny, and asked for a number of other cases to be taken into consideration. P and his brother were placed on probation for three years. On the 15th February, the mother came along to the office with her five children and their personal belongings, demanding their immediate admission and refusing to return home. On the 18th February, 1952, P and his brother were admitted to the Sourhall Hostel, Todmorden.

P's mother eventually managed to get herself an isolated cottage in Mytholmroyd where the conditions were very primitive. She now made several attempts to get P and his brothers back with her. But it was not until she acquired a more suitable home in Burnley, that she was successful. P and his brother returned to her on the 6th August 1955.

Nothing more was heard about the family for the next few months. In November, 1955, P's mother complained to the Probation Officer that P was completely out of control and described "semi-murderous attacks on younger brothers." 1.

On the 22nd December P was charged with causing grievous bodily harm at a special sitting of Todmorden Juvenile Court. He pleaded guilty. The circumstances were that a woman had been walking alone and that P had struck her on the head with a heavy ship of wood. She had required six stitches in the top of her head. The

1. Report of Assistant Children's Officer, Huddersfield, 1956.

case was adjourned until the 9th January, P being sent to Ashbank Remand Home for medical examinations. When the magistrates received the report they committed him to the care of the Local Authority, feeling that his peculiar home circumstances were probably responsible for the offences.

The boy was sent for observation to the Reception Centre. The report stated that:-

"On the surface this boy appears to be indifferent to any show of affection from adults but I feel that this is deliberate insulation against his repeated unfortunate experiences in the giving or receiving of affection. He has not a friendly approach and takes a long time to thaw.

In a group he works well with a leader and shows no inclination to usurp the leader's position. He loses his temper with younger children when he can't get his way and is always willing to spread the blame for any wrong-doing." 1.

Along with the above, six more children were admitted to Skellow Hall in 1956. Their backgrounds contain similar patterns to the ones recently outlined, stealing and parental disharmony. All were placed in Skellow at the suggestion of the Reception Centre.

Child Q was an illegitimate child and was four years old when his mother married. (Her husband was not his father). The situation at home was full of difficulties. The father was often away for long periods of time as he was on a contracting job. Although he earned good money he sent very little home. The husband and wife did not

get on well together and Q's mother suspected him of infidelity. When her husband was at home, he would show no interest in Q at all except when he did anything wrong and then he would give him severe even brutal beatings. The N.S.P.C.C. Officer had cause to visit him on one of the instances.

Although the mother tried her best with Q, her own matrimonial difficulties prevented her from giving Q the security and understanding that he required. Q felt himself rejected by both people.

In October 1956 Q appeared before the Court for stealing a pair of canvas shoes, as a result of which he was put on probation for one year. During this time Q stole rent books and cash. The Probation Officer felt that the cause for these thefts stemmed from his home situation and that his feeling of rejection by the parents was a dominant factor. Q appeared before the Court a second time and was handed over to the Local Authority. He spent some time in the Reception Centre at Mirfield.

Whilst under close observation there it was found that with adults Q was quite withdrawn. Very few signs of friendliness were shown and Q even avoided contact with adults. With children, he was found to be selfish and scheming. Q was not considered a good mixer. Suggestions were made that Q be placed in some establishment before

boarding out was considered. As a result of this, Q was admitted to Skellow Hall in 1957.

Twelve more children were admitted in 1957. Of these, three were "short-stay" cases. They were being kept in the Home for a short period of time as their mother was in hospital. Two were admitted at the age of fourteen. In either case, there had been no legal offence. Parents were temporarily unable to maintain the children and under Section 1 of the Children Act they were brought into care. Two brothers were admitted as a result of theft. The Court felt that a removal from the home environment to that of a Children's Home was in their case more appropriate than an Approved School Training. The ages of the two children were twelve and eleven years of age.

The backgrounds of the other admissions need not be examined in detail as very similar ones have been discussed previously. They were brought before the Court for stealing offences and the Court felt that a Children's Home would be the suitable policy. The ages of these were fourteen.

In 1958 Child R entered Skellow Hall. R, along with his two sisters, was admitted to Rycroft Hostel, Hatfield in 1949 when his mother had an operation. The children remained there until its closure on 30th December 1949, when they were transferred to Tong Park House, Baildon.

On the mother's discharge from hospital, she experienced great difficulty in obtaining suitable accommodation and this, together with her continued poor health, prevented the children from returning to their mother's care. The mother remarried in 1950, but the following year she died of cancer and unfortunately the woman's second husband did not take any interest in the children and they consequently remained in the care of this authority.

During the time he was at Tong Park House R proved to be a difficult boy and the source of considerable trouble. In July, 1950, he absconded with another boy from the Children's Home and together they committed various offences of larceny and approximately two years later R appeared before the Otley Juvenile Court charged jointly with the other boy of inflicting damage to an unoccupied caravan. Both boys were placed on probation but it was thought that R's companion had been the instigator. Whilst R did not make any further appearances before Court until April 1955, the Superintendent of Tong Park House reported that despite individual attention and encouragement R's untrustworthy traits of petty larceny and untruthfulness continued.

Although R was slightly above average intelligence, he was very easily provoked into wrong doing by other boys. Advice was offered to him but very rarely heeded. Subsequently he was committed to an Approved School by

the Otley West Riding Juvenile Court on the 26th April 1955 under the provisions of Section 57 of the Children and Young Persons Act. He was admitted to Aycliffe School some two weeks later where he remained until being transferred to Shadwell School on the 8th June 1955.

Initially, R was rather a problem to the Approved School staff; his behaviour was very unpredictable and although he showed a certain amount of industry he always required close and constant supervision. However, after a time he appeared to be showing signs of benefitting from a settled environment and at the time of licence, his conduct was described as satisfactory. The boy, who was enuretic, was examined by specialists but prescribed treatment had only a limited success.

R spent two weeks of leave with his aunt but she was not anxious to provide a home for him when the time came for the boy to be licensed. A cousin offered to take R after he was released and after a visit by the Child Care Officer R went into his care. Employment was found for him at the local colliery and according to reports he gave every satisfaction. But on the 5th November 1957 as a result of pilfering, lying and rather unhygienic attempts to conceal his enuresis, R was recalled to the Approved School. He remained here until April 1958 when he was admitted to Skellow Hall. R was then seventeen years of age.

Child S, along with his brother, was admitted at the age of twelve (his brother was ten). They had both appeared before the West Riding Juvenile Court in 1958. They had been found guilty of housebreaking and stealing cash. The Court committed them to the care of the Local Authority. Their home background was found to be unsuitable, the mother having deserted the father.

The two boys were placed in Westfields Reception Centre, Mirfield. The report on S stated that he should be placed in a Children's Home preferably near his father's home. He was found to be -

"reasonably friendly, but all the time wary. He is feckless in temperament and liable to irresponsible outbursts. He has no compunction about lying and is much less honest than the average boy. He has little confidence in adults and is always watchful." 1.

S came into Skellow Hall in 1958.

Child T was admitted to the Reception Centre on the 2nd August 1956. His mother was murdered in 1949 whilst his father was at sea. T and his brother were cared for by various relatives, including a spell with the father, who came home from sea and took the boys to the home of the paternal grandmother. The father then returned to sea and the boys were separated, T's brother going to a paternal aunt in Blackpool and T reverting to the care of his grandfather. The grandfather became unable to look after T and therefore the Durham Children's Department took him into care and placed him in a

Home for boys in Newcastle. He remained there until the 14th January 1956 when he was discharged to the care of a maternal uncle, who was at that time living near Doncaster. During T's residence in the Newcastle Home, he re-established contact with his father who had married again. The father, however, made it plain that although he professed an interest in the lad, he could not take him into his home. It was at this point that the uncle applied to have T restored to his care.

Unfortunately, owing to unpleasantness in the home stated to have been caused by T, his aunt and two cousins left the house, whilst he and his uncle remained. Following this upset T's uncle found accommodation for his wife and children and at this juncture stated that he was not prepared to keep T any longer. The boy admitted that he did not feel himself to be one of his uncle's family and he expressed a dislike for his father. He felt the latter's rejection of him very strongly, particularly since he had learned that his brother had been restored to his parental home.

Prior to Christmas, 1956, T was introduced to foster parents, who lived near Pontefract. On the 21st December he went to their home to spend a holiday with the idea of remaining, if the stay proved satisfactory. During the holiday T was inclined to "take the floor", particularly when there were visitors at the house, but otherwise things

went well and it was decided that he should remain as a boarded out child. In February it was reported that T appeared to be settling down and he had so far behaved reasonably well. The foster mother was being very patient and doing her utmost to make T feel one of the family circle.

In March it was reported that T had been in trouble. He admitted to receiving cigarettes knowing that they had been stolen. Efforts were made to make T realise the seriousness of this offence but the boy did not show signs of being really perturbed. On the 8th May, 1957, T appeared before the Pontefract Borough Juvenile Court charged with receiving twenty stolen cigarettes and was given an absolute discharge.

T's behaviour was now starting to become erratic. There were phases of staying out late or disappearing for several hours. The foster parents were becoming disturbed about all this, but they liked the boy and wanted to help all they could. T had another spell of running off and when questioned by a Child Care Officer he answered that he was very unhappy where he was (although he had been very well cared for by the foster parents). T expressed a desire to go and live with his uncle again. The foster parents did not wish to keep T against his wishes but offered to take him on holiday. He refused to go and so on the 21st August 1957, T was admitted to Eastwell Lodge. He was completely

unsettled there, and there were several incidents of running away. On one occasion, he stole a bicycle. As a result of this he was admitted to Skellow Hall. (January 1958). He was fourteen years of age.

No less grim in background but different in circumstances was the case of Child U. U was the third eldest of seven illegitimate children. The father of the children was a man with whom the mother had been living for 21 years until she had married. The children then took the step-father's name.

According to the mother her life with the children's father had been a grim one. He was a confirmed drunkard and did very little to provide for the family. Soon after U was born, the mother left the man and she and the children were admitted to Knaresborough Institution where they remained for one year. She obtained a furnished cottage and the father of the children returned to her. They lived there for four years. They were later given a council house but were evicted on account of their inability to pay the rent. Once again they were admitted to Knaresborough Institution. Here U's mother met a man who was an inmate of the Institution. They were married on the 16th February 1956. He was a sufferer from polio. After the marriage, the couple went to live in a cottage. Here, however, they were given notice. Accommodation was found in Harrogate and the four youngest children

were placed in the care of the Local Authority.

According to the mother, U was always a problem child and appeared to be beyond her control. He had the habit of staying out until midnight. There was a couple at a nearby farm, whom he was very fond of and with whom he spent a great deal of time. He was said to have a violent temper and struck his mother on several occasions. On one occasion he was said to have kicked her severely. On leaving school, U commenced working at the Parachute Factory, Knaresborough, where he was reported to have earned between £12 and £15 per week on piece work, all of which he squandered. V attended the doctor for treatment for a spastic foot.

On the evening of Friday the 9th May 1958 U came home and asked his mother for a paper that he had left in a book. The mother had removed it and would not let the boy have it back. U was at first upset but later calmed down and appeared to forget the incident. Soon after midnight the mother heard the gas turned on in the room next to where she was but did not hear the gas being lit. She went into the next room and found U with his head over the unlighted gas ring. She informed the Police and U was charged with attempted suicide. He stated that he would attempt suicide again if presented with the opportunity. U was put into a Remand Home. After spending some time there, the Superintendent felt it would

be best for him to receive mental and physical treatment and therefore recommended Clifton Mental Hospital, York. The consultant Psychiatrist made out the following report:-

"U is not a bright boy, but his performance ability is higher than his intellectual power, which could be called a dull normal. From the history available it would appear that U is industrious and that he was unfortunate in so far as he lost a job in which he was earning good money through no fault of his own. His further progress at work was handicapped by the development of spasmodic flat-foot for which he is still receiving hospital treatment.

In my opinion, however, U suffered from severe emotional disturbance of extremely adverse home circumstances. His temporary mood accompanied by hopelessness of outlook led to the act, on account of which he appeared in Court. That mood was evanescent and there has been no further evidence of emotional instability either at the Remand Home or at the hospital. He now requires a considerable amount of help in establishing himself in life. It is not advisable that he should return to live with his mother and step-father." 1.

U was admitted to Skellow Hall on leaving Clifton Hospital in 1958. He was sixteen.

Child V was admitted in March 1958. V was seventeen and had had a gim life from his earliest years. His mother deserted him at birth and as a result he was admitted to Norfolk Institution. The mother was eventually placed in prison because of neglect. On her release V was returned to her. The family lived on out-relief. In 1942 V and his mother were again admitted to Norfolk Institution from which they were later discharged. In 1943 the mother absconded and so V, this time with two

1. Clifton Mental Hospital Report, Consultant Psychiatrist's Report, 1958.

brothers was admitted to Pulham Market Institution. Later that year V was transferred to Barnsley Institution, from where he was boarded out.

While at school V had much ill health. It was found that he was easily upset and reduced to a nervous condition. Also he was accident prone. He did not particularly like school and the teachers found him very backward. He did show, however, a great liking for animals and as he grew up, showed some aptitude for handling them.

The foster parents found him for a long time a likeable sort of lad. He worked regularly when he left school (as a farm hand) and gave satisfaction to his employer. He lacked, however, adequate control of his temper and emotions. In 1958 the foster father found that V had formed an association with a young woman who had an extremely poor background. She had had sexual experience before leaving school and after the loss of a baby had been put under the supervision of the Probation Officer. In view of this the foster parents entreated V to give up the friendship. But he would not. Angry scenes in the foster home became frequent, one of which ended in V leaving, stating that he was going to the girl's home. The foster parents, feeling that V was now beyond their control, asked the Child Care Officer to intervene. He suggested V might be taken into care for a few days

in order to allow his present emotional excitement to subside. It came out on V's leaving the foster home, that he had stolen a considerable amount of money, from his foster father, which he had used to buy an engagement ring and various other articles for the girl. The suggested place of residence was Skellow Hall.

Ten more children were admitted in 1958. With the exception of two brothers, whose backgrounds disclosed cruelty from parents, the remaining eight cases were either offenders or short stay cases.

In 1959 five children were admitted. Three of these were brothers of the ages twelve, eleven and ten years of age. The backgrounds of these children lay in gross neglect from the mother, for which she was sent to prison in 1950. The boys were placed in a Nursery at first and then in a small Children's Home. Here they gave a great deal of difficulty and consequently were placed in Skellow Hall Children's Home. Throughout the mother professed some interest in the boys but never seemed desirous of doing anything more than visit.

Child W was admitted at the age of twelve. He was the oldest of eight, his mother and father having been married for thirteen years. Due to marital problems and war service, however, the father saw little of his son until he was three years of age. His father was an active supporter of the Communist Movement and it was

after the birth of the second child that his wife also turned to communism in support of her husband. At about this time the couple lived apart for about nine months because of marital problems. W was a very advanced child and his mother described him as being "easily trained". While the father was away the lad was indulged by his mother and grandparents. When his father came home the internal discipline of the home changed. The father's authority was now felt. W, in turn, felt this as a rejection. W now began to show behaviour problems. There was a great deal of rivalry between him and his younger brother. There were incidents of stealing from home; money from his mother, a watch from his uncle and tools from his father. On various occasions he ran away, usually in an attempt to find his grandmother.

In March 1959 V was brought before the Juvenile Court for stealing a wallet and contents, the value of which was about forty pounds. He was sent to a Remand Home. The report here stated -

"the lad is obviously maladjusted at home. There is an extremely faulty relationship of long standing between him and his father, on whom he looks in the main as an instrument of punishment. It reflects in the lad's lack of spontaneity, his sense of grievance with the world at large and his obviously unhappy state. He says he would rather stay at the Remand Home than go home." 1.

From here W was placed in a Reception Centre and it was at their suggestion that he was placed at Skellow
1. Report of Superintendent, Sheffield Remand Home, 1959.

Hall.

In 1960 six boys were admitted, (up to the time of writing this thesis). Two of these were "short stay" cases. They were brothers and as their mother was in convalescence they were placed in Skellow Hall under Section I of the Children Act.

The background of every boy entering the Home has not been outlined because some fall into the same pattern as those mentioned previously. It can be seen, however, from those discussed that there is an individuality about each one. The necessity of knowing as much detail as possible about each child can also be seen. In this way the child's needs can be studied and placement made according to those needs. It can be seen from the case studies that although they can be catergorized into Section I, Section 5, short stay or maladjusted cases, such a division is not really a valid one in view of the many individual differences.

CHAPTER X

What the background reveals regarding the development of Child Welfare

From the background studies above, there can be seen a post-war development of a system of Child Welfare which caters for the child's needs. The following table shows the admissions to the Home from the time of opening in 1953 when there were twenty two boys. Some had just left the Nursery. (Over half were under ten years of age). Of these, one child had been brought before the Court for an offence and handed over to the Local Authority, (Section 5).

	<u>Total</u> <u>Admissions</u>	<u>No.</u> <u>% of Section</u> <u>5 cases</u>	<u>Average</u> <u>age</u>
1954	6	3	12 yrs.
1955	6	2	13 "
1956	9	5	12 "
1957	16	7	13 "
1958	16	7	13 "
1959	5	3	13 "
1960	6	2	13 "

In relation to Skellow Hall these figures suggest, at the beginning of 1953, a placing of Section I cases. Children were sent to the Home who were without parents or relatives, who had been neglected or whose parents were unable to look after them. Then there was the gradual introduction of children who had been brought before the

Court and found guilty of an offence. This was in compliance with Section 5 of the Children Act:

"In any case where, under the Children and Young Persons Act 1933, a Court has power to commit a person brought before the Court to the care of a fit person, the assent of the Local Authority shall not be required for the making by the Court of an order committing him to the care of the Authority unless a probation order or supervision order is in force or the Court proposes to make such an order at the same time as the order committing the child to the care of the Authority." 1.

It must also be noticed that others being admitted were "short stay" cases. These comprised of children who were only in care for a short period of time, owing to the temporary inability of parents to look after them. In the background studies, the case of two brothers was mentioned, who were in Skellow Hall for a short period of time as their mother was in hospital.

The following table shows how after the first year many children were admitted who were above twelve years of age:-

	<u>Total</u> <u>Admissions</u>	<u>Various</u> <u>Ages</u>
1954	6	Two at 17 Two at 13 (approx.)
1955	6	Two at 15 One at 13
1956	9	One at 18 Two at 15 Two at 14
1957	16	Three at 15 Three at 14 Four at 13
1958	16	One at 18 One at 17 One at 16 One at 15

	<u>Total</u> <u>Admissions</u>	<u>Various</u> <u>ages</u>
1958 (cont.)	16	Four at 14 years One at 13
1959	5	One at 16
1960	6	One at 13

Some children were also admitted who had been in other Homes and had been regarded as 'difficult'. Three children who were in the care of the West Riding in Special Schools (Educationally Subnormal and Maladjusted) also spent their vacations at Skellow Hall.

It is apparent from these observations that Skellow Hall was undergoing a change. What had at first been a Home for children coming in at an early age as Section I cases remaining there till they were fifteen now seemed to be a Home for older children and young persons otherwise Approved School cases, Section 5, 'short-stay' cases (including those who were fifteen years of age and over and were just awaiting boarding-out arrangements) and difficult cases (children who had not been able to settle in other Homes).

This gradual change in Skellow Hall was, to a large extent, a reflection of the regional policy. Ever since the 1948 Children Act the West Riding Authority had been conscious of the need for an adjustment of their organisation to meet the requirements of this Act. Section I (3), expressed the conviction that the right place for a child

was in its own home wherever possible, whereby the Local Authority was under a duty to restore a child to its home as soon as possible. Local authorities were concerned to fulfil this duty, first, in the interests of the children, secondly because there was no justification for retaining in public care, and at public expense, children who could be provided for suitably by their parents, and, next, because some parents became less eager to assume responsibility for their children the longer they remained in care. This implied an organisation whereby local authorities not only kept in touch with the parents of children in care and kept the parents in contact with the children but also gave what guidance and help they could in suitable cases to put the parents or relatives in a position to take over the care of their children. Some children remained in the care of local authorities because their parents, though willing to look after them, had no suitable accommodation.

This had to be a system, however, which did not result in indiscriminate returning of children to their homes. Some children needed, for their own welfare, to be taken away from their home backgrounds. The backgrounds already studied have shown this. A child had then to be placed so as "to further" his best interests and to afford him opportunity for the proper development of his character and abilities." 1. The interpretation of this to the

local authorities was that boarding out in a foster home was the nearest measure to restoring a child to its own parents. In a foster home the child was likely to have more chance of becoming familiar with the outside world than if he were living in a children's home. This assisted him to settle down more easily when the time came to make the change from school to work.

Every child, whose welfare could best be achieved by boarding-out could not, however, be catered for. It was in this situation, therefore, that family group homes were felt necessary. These were thought to be the best substitute, short of adoption or boarding-out, for a child's own home.^{1.}

The development of these family group homes over the past few years has affected the development of children's homes and has helped to change their nature. Children originally going into a larger home under Section I, whenever possible, now go into a family-group home. Children who will not benefit immediately from a family group home enter a larger home. To ensure that this system runs smoothly, the child's background should have been examined fully so that his needs can be studied and appropriate placement secured for him. The background reports of children coming into Skellow Hall show how full attention has been given to details right from birth. This

1. See earlier descriptions of family group homes.

has required an efficient body of officials who not only have made observations themselves but who have worked smoothly with others to ensure a continuous thread of information about the child as he has passed from place to place. The West Riding Authority set up a Reception Centre in 1954 at Westfield¹, Mirfield. This ensured that background material could be collected and children closely observed in company with adults and other children and consequently assessed. A suggested placement could then be made, based on detailed knowledge of the child's needs.

Thus can be seen the changing pattern of Child Welfare and with it the change of function of Skellow Hall Children's Home. The implications of the 1948 Children's Act are being more fully expressed.

There is also a change in the structure regarding 'offenders'. Over the past few years authorities have been making use of Section 5 of the Children's Act 1948. If a child is brought before the Court and found guilty of an offence, the Court can send him to an Approved School (Children and Young Persons Act). If, however, they feel that his act has been the result of negligence on the part of his parents and that a bad home environment has been the cause of his behaviour, the Court can hand him over to a

1. See Page 133.

1. Reception Centres are discussed more fully earlier in the thesis.

'fit person' "whether relative or not". The 'fit person' can be the local authority and once he is in their care they can treat him as any other child in care.

The West Riding Authority have been experimenting with this idea, it seems. The setting up of family group homes has helped to create a new role for the larger home. This new role in relation to non-offenders has^{1.} already been discussed. The new role regarding offenders is to see if they will respond to the normal atmosphere of a Children's Home. Hence, Skellow Hall is in the process of becoming a new type of Institution, a place for "offenders", for short-stay cases and for older and difficult cases. If this proves successful, then, without doubt the policy will be applied to all larger Children's Homes.

1. *ibid.* See Page 133.

CHAPTER XI

The development of Case Studies (A - W) at Skellow Hall

A entered Skellow Hall in 1952. It was quite obvious that his first few weeks would be spent in impressing everyone around him. His whole demeanour indicated this. In a group, A would frequently try to be the centre of attraction. Whatever the topic of conversation A tried to thrust himself forward as an authority on the subject.

Any intervention on the part of an adult would cause A to become resentful and aggressive in his manner. He did not seem to accept adults, at first, as they appeared to him, one felt, to undermine his feeling of self importance.

A's chief interests lay in football and cricket and it was in these that a suitable relationship was set up between staff and A. This did not emerge immediately. For quite a period of time, A's aim on the football field seemed to be to convince everyone else around him that he was a talented player. This often resulted in selfishness on his part and quite naturally the others would become annoyed, which in turn, led to constant arguments on the field. But, as time went on, these arguments on the field were not as frequent. A was now being accepted in the group.

There was an all round improvement in his behaviour.

1. For background of B, see Page 87 - 88.

2. B once threw a knife at the writer in the dining room.

At the local Secondary Modern School he became interested in school life in general and was esteemed quite highly by the Headmaster.

When A left school and Skellow Hall, he went to live on a farm in the locality. His work there was of a type that interested him and the people living at the farm spoke highly of him.

A visits Skellow Hall regularly.

Child B did not adjust himself to life at Skellow Hall as quickly as A. His background partly explains the reason for this, as it was far more emotionally exacting.^{1.}

For weeks after his arrival B upset any hopes that were held of a peaceful community life at Skellow Hall. Incidents, in which B was the source of trouble, were never-ending. One could guarantee that there would always be an argument caused by B in any game that took place. At school, it appeared he behaved in a similar way. Group activities were upset by B's complete lack of cooperation. He would often resort to violence.^{2.}

Yet, during the first weeks of his stay, despite all these uncontrolled acts of violence, B displayed qualities seldom found in a boy of his type. Without doubt he was a truthful boy and had a strong sense of injustice. B was also very kind and would share any new acquisition with any other member of the household.

1. For background of B, see Page 85 - 88.

2. B once threw a knife at the writer in the dining room when in a similar state.

How to help him to develop naturally was a problem. His weakness lay in his inability to benefit from group activities. It was as if he suspected others around him, old and young, of conspiring against him.

B could not be merely left to develop. This would have resulted in constant disturbances of the other boys' activities. It was felt that a firm approach had to be taken. Yet it was felt that this approach should be firm, but encouraging. He was made to play cricket, in which it was stated quite clearly there would be no arguments. If anyone violated this rule, they were told to sit down and watch the game. B was now in a position to see others who upset a group activity and to see others, who wanted to make sure that the game was played in the best possible way. He also saw himself now in a position of helping to see that the game was continued without interruption. In turn, B was encouraged in his performance.

In other activities B was made to take part, and at the same time was shown that he was capable of ensuring the success of that particular activity. His motive for breaking up an event, that people were conspiring against him, was gradually being taken away.

It was significant that B now began to behave well at school and various members of staff commented on his politeness and willingness to work. People coming into contact with him for the first time could not believe

reports of his one time anti-social behaviour.

In 1956 it was felt that B's home was now suitable for him to return to and that B was now ready to go.

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to find reasons for B's response to treatment at Skellow Hall. The writer has not the psychological knowledge and experience at his disposal. But it cannot be overlooked that the characteristic feature of B's early behaviour at the Hall was complete distrust of others and a consequent self defence which to him lay in aggression. To break this attitude down, treatment had to be firm yet not repressive. It was essential that B should be placed in a situation in which he could witness just actions and experience approval from others and so diminish his reasons for anti-social behaviour.

C and his brother were admitted in the same year as B. Their behaviour at first was what one would expect of children with their particular background.¹ Now that food was plentiful and material benefits at their disposal they began to take advantage of these to the full. To the uninformed onlooker, they appeared greedy and extremely selfish, but to those acquainted with the facts, it was obvious that neither C nor his brother was certain that the present situation of comparative luxury would last, (they still had memories of their previous existence) and consequently

authorities at Ipswich, re-examined C's progress, found that

1. For background of C, see Page 88 - 89.

were possessive. There were incidents of food being taken late at night, but these were rare and were, therefore, left without comment.

The behaviour of the two boys was good and they took part in group activities without displaying any of B's anti-social behaviour. They did, however, show resentment on being checked and would often become quite miserable as a result of this. It was felt this was due to the feeling of insecurity which existed in the two boys at first. This manifested itself in many ways. At school, they constantly sought the attention of the members of staff, by offering to do various jobs for them. At home, they would go to any extent to receive adult attention.

C and his brother gradually settled down at Skellow Hall and began to contribute a great deal to the life of the community around them. At school, they worked well and both represented the school at football and cricket. At home, they helped to run various activities, took an interest in helping in the grounds, and generally became useful, responsible members of the home.

When C left school, he decided he wanted to join the Navy. He was accepted as a Naval Cadet and took up his training at H.M.S. Ganges, a training base at Ipswich. C frequently visited Skellow Hall when on leave, bringing friends along with him. Reports sent by the Naval authorities at Ipswich, regarding C's progress, spoke highly

of him. The following year, after passing his final tests at Ipswich, he took part in a Mediterranean Cruise, after which he took part in various other excursions. He is at the moment in the Far-East.

C's brother left school the following year, expressing the same desire to join the Navy. He, too, was accepted and went to Ipswich where he experienced a great deal of success. At the moment of writing, this boy is on the way home from Singapore.

The visits of these two boys to Skellow Hall has had a marked effect on the others. Quite a number now want to follow the same pattern as C and his brother.

One of the most difficult cases at Skellow Hall was Child D.¹ Admitted at the age of thirteen, D was unable to attend school because of his circumstances. It was desirable, therefore, that he should work in the grounds. His physique was such that manual work was not difficult to him and he seemed to enjoy it. But one had to be extremely careful as to how one approached him. If D was told to do some gardening, he would strongly resent it and would do nothing at all. If asked, however, he would willingly oblige.

At first, D was moody and often ill tempered. Because of his size, this often frightened the younger members of the household. On one occasion he locked himself in a room and refused to come out. D eventually reappeared,

1. See Page 89 - 90.

apparently quite oblivious to the incident. He was very self-conscious and would not take part in any activity in which others of his own age took an interest. D often played with the younger boys, as he seemed to find their particular activities more satisfying. The boys at Skellow Hall wanted to draw D into their group, but he seemed to reject their acceptance of him. His own company, when not with younger ones, was sufficient for him.

The adults he came into contact with were sympathetic and did not force him to do anything. They tried to help him in various ways to achieve some success.

The first signs of response came when the boys went on holiday. D had been at the Hall for three years. Previously, he had not taken part in any Camp or beach activities and had behaved just as he had at home.¹ But, on this particular occasion, he was persuaded to 'paddle' in the water. (This had frightened him before). Pleased with this new experience, D now expressed the desire to wear a bathing costume. This newly found confidence and ease with others caused him to take part in a number of games that were played. He even attended the evening dances and watched with interest.

On returning to Skellow Hall, D continued in the same way. There were still moments of bad temper and depression but these were certainly not as frequent as

1. See Page 175 for full description of Camp life.

as before. What was significant was that now D was beginning to identify himself with others. He was at last a member of a group and no longer considered himself something apart. D could have developed into a violent, anti-social individual but for the sympathy and affection of those around him. It is felt that these, and a general feeling of approval helped him to develop as he did.

¹
Child E responded almost immediately at Skellow Hall. He found no trouble in establishing relationships with those around him and was happy both at home and at school. When he left school, he was boarded-out and started work with the British Ropes, Ltd., in Doncaster. E visits Skellow Hall regularly and is well liked by all the boys.

²
Child F came to the Hall at the age of six. He was a small, delicate looking child. At first, F would show very little interest in any activity in which he took part. He seemed to be merely associating himself with a group and doing what they were doing, as if content to pass his time that way. One felt that there was an essential part of him that had not been contacted by those around him. A great deal of individual attention was given to him. The writer took a great interest in him and found him responsive, yet very unsure of himself.

1. See pages 90 - 91.

2. See pages 91 - 92.

The individual attention which was given to him brought out traits in him which before had remained hidden. He was now showing more individuality. He seemed to enjoy some activities whereas before he had merely taken part in them. At about the age of eight F showed signs of self-confidence. He now began to disagree with adults, which was in fact a healthy sign, as before he had complied with any of their wishes as if afraid to do otherwise.

Between the age of nine and eleven his interests developed a great deal. F began to enjoy playing football and cricket and often played with the older boys. He developed an interest in gardening and was given a small plot of land, which he began to cultivate with enthusiasm. Experiencing a certain amount of success in this, he seemed to increase in self confidence.

When F moved to the local secondary school, his whole attitude towards school changed. Whereas before, at primary school, he had shown indifference, F now showed a positive interest. He started to attend the school Art Club and showed great promise in that sphere. Rugby was introduced and F distinguished himself. The challenges presented in this particular game seemed to bring out the best in him. It was not surprising that success in these fields brought him new friends and popularity.

F is at the present time a happy individual who actively pursues his various interests in the Home.

1.

The four brothers G were admitted in 1951. Their ages were five, six, eight and ten. It was noticed after the first months at Skellow Hall, that with the exception of the eight year old, the other three were very hard to contact. Kindness and attention did not seem to effect them. This characteristic persisted throughout, and later a marked disregard for others was apparent.

The other brother responded to individual approach. He became quite friendly and eager to oblige. At school he was in the D stream and considered a "special school" case, but his general manner and attitude was spoken of highly by the staff.

His three brothers did not receive the same praise. They were more intelligent but deceitful and selfish in their manner. At home these traits were shown in various ways. They were often found guilty of stealing. They would upset a group activity if they could not direct it as they wanted. In 1956 the oldest brother left Skellow Hall and was boarded out. A job was found for him in the Doncaster Post Office. He continued to work there until recently, when he left the Post Office to take up a higher paid job at the British Ropes Works in Doncaster. Since leaving Skellow Hall, he has married and now has three children, which he manages to maintain quite well.

seen playing more often than the others. He showed a certain amount of ability at the game and consequently

1. See page 92.

G continues to visit his three brothers but they do not seem to miss him. Nor do they appear to be pleased to see him on such visits.

As has been indicated previously, the admission^{1.} of H introduced a new type of entry to Skellow Hall.

H has been brought before the magistrates and they had considered a Children's Home atmosphere a more suitable place than an approved school.

The first few weeks of H's stay presented no behaviour problems to the staff. He was reserved and easily became bored with group activities. But this did not bring about any anti-social attitude. He was introspective, but not to the extent of being morbid.

H behaved at school in a similar sort of way. His work was approached in a quiet methodical manner. Group activities were avoided as much as possible but H would not refuse to partake if invited. One felt, at first, that H would do what was asked of him but no more. There seemed to exist a rather disinterested approach to life. H was insulating himself against involvement in any group. Fear of showing himself to others seemed to underlie all his actions. The first signs of interest in some activity were shown by H when a billiard table was presented to the Home. The table was in great demand by all, but H was seen playing more often than the others. He showed a certain amount of ability at the game and consequently

1. See pages 92-93.

experienced success. Most of the boys were keen to take part in a game with H. This brought him a new popularity and changed his attitude in other spheres. H became more sociable and cooperative as a member of the Skellow Hall Community. When H left the Hall he returned home, where he resides at present. He is quite interested in his job at the local dairy and comes back to Skellow on a visit periodically. One of the most problematic cases at Skellow Hall was Child I,¹ who was admitted in 1954. His first few weeks in the Home were normal. He settled down and took part in various activities along with the other children. After a period of time, however, when it was thought that I had adjusted himself to the community he was in, incidents of anti-social behaviour occurred, which were quite uncharacteristic of his earlier behaviour. On one occasion 'I' had an argument with one of the boys and climbed on the roof, refusing to come down. He developed a habit of spreading rumours concerning other members of the Home. Younger children were filled with stories of I's achievements elsewhere, which were all pure figments of his imagination. For a time, he seemed to live in a world of complete fantasy, rejecting children of his own age and preferring the credulous audience of younger boys. This, in turn, spurred him on to more escapades. He took a disused bicycle from the outhouse and disappeared

felt necessary, therefore, to outline every one of the cases.

1. See pages 92 - 98.

for a whole day. It was quite late at night when he returned, still possessing the bicycle.

Frequent attempts were made to contact I, but the more one approached him, the more he seemed to delight in his actions. It was as if he enjoyed the attention he received through his various exploits. The gradual of this caused the members of staff concerned to dismiss him from their minds. "I" was left alone, and if he ran away for the day and returned in the evening, he was treated as if procedure had been quite normal. By this time, the novelty of his tales had begun to wear off, and the younger children were far less credulous to his 'yarn-spinning'. The focus of attention was no longer on him.

In the next few weeks, a marked change was observed in I's behaviour. He became polite, helpful and sociable. His whole countenance seemed to change. "I" began to play football and obviously enjoyed it. The argumentative streak, so often previously displayed, was no longer so apparent.

When "I" left Skellow Hall at the age of eighteen, his behaviour was completely changed. He returned to his family and settled down quite easily.

Some of the cases, whose backgrounds have already been dealt with, displayed similar characteristics in behaviour during their stay at Skellow Hall. It is not felt necessary, therefore, to outline every one of the cases.

1.

Child K had quite an unusual background when coming into Skellow Hall. His first few weeks presented no problems, as his previous suggested. He became extremely helpful and was entrusted with many jobs, which he seemed to enjoy thoroughly. Consequently K was presented with more responsibility and this in turn developed him considerably. Any visitors to the Home were always attracted by K's pleasant manner. All this made one wonder why K seemed to settle down so quickly, when he had been so unsettled at his previous residence. Observations of K's approach to his work and his various reactions lead the writer to feel that K had not experienced a great deal of trust in his past homes and that he had been ordered around quite unnecessarily. He had not had the opportunity to distinguish himself at any particular task. The need for this recognition was satisfied when he came to Skellow Hall, for he was challenged in all kinds of ways. The writer's child, who was at the time only one year old, took a great liking to K, and as a result was entrusted to him for his daily 'butings'; these outings obviously benefited both parties a great deal. This, in K's eyes, was only one example of a newly-found trust and he responded readily as a result.

1. For background of K, see p.100.

2. For background of L, see p.102.

Child L presented different problems when he entered Skellow Hall. ^{1.} He was subject to constant epileptic fits and these in themselves were quite disturbing to the younger members of the Home. There were times, however, when these fits were the result of some disappointing experience and were not epileptic but rather invented. Often L would seek attention with various antics and if these were not sufficiently applauded he would claim the attention of those around him by throwing a fit. It therefore became difficult at times to know which was a genuine fit and which was an invented one.

L never became a member of any particular group in the Home. He would partake in games but these he used as pretexts for exhibitionism. Other boys, one felt, enjoyed playing the various games because of the social atmosphere but with L it was quite different. This desire to show those around what he could do was apparent in his work in the grounds. L would spend hours and hours gardening but would be most resentful if anyone worked with him.

In the building L caused very little trouble. He was polite to members of the staff and quite helpful. It was with those of his own age that L was uncomfortable. It is felt, therefore, that to mention these would involve repetition. Child U, however, is an exception to this.

L. For background of L, see p.102.

This was a departure from the previous cases at Skellow Hall. Resentment of adults was usually shown at first by children entering the Home. A temporary indifference to those around was also a characteristic. Positive resentment was not usually shown to a boy's own age group. This was almost impossible to break down in L at Skellow Hall.

L sought shelter from those around him by playing with younger boys and by running off. This took the form of an early morning departure and a late night return. The days following would see a more cheerful L and then depression would be apparent again.

After L had been at Skellow Hall for some time, slight changes were noticeable in his attitude. He began to talk more with those around him. His work in the gardens was not as isolated. Games became more enjoyable to him, and his whole demeanour in general changed. A certain interest in things around him was detected and he seemed less introspective. His fits were not as prevalent and his running off not as frequent. It was felt he was responding to the environment at Skellow Hall.

The children following Child L follow similar patterns of behaviour in their stay at Skellow Hall. It is felt, therefore, that to mention these would involve repetition. Child U, however, is an exception to this.

His background and subsequent behaviour, on being admitted^{1.} to Skellow Hall, provide an unusual pattern.

As U had had a most shattering experience, it was thought that there would be a great deal of difficulty in his adjustment to life at Skellow Hall. This pre-supposition was quite wrong. Almost immediately U settled down and seemed to revel in the company of the other boys. In turn, the boys seemed to respond to his leadership. Despite his physical handicap, he took part in all games which were played and thoroughly enjoyed them.

As U had already left school on entering Skellow Hall, he had a great deal of time during the day at his disposal. This he used most profitably and would, in the summertime, work in the grounds with others. At other times, he would be most helpful in the building. These experiences seemed to benefit U for he was very cheerful, active and cooperative at all times. When he left the Hall, one felt that U had responded somewhat to the atmosphere that existed there.

It can be seen, from this chapter, that to generalise too much about boys coming into a Children's Home can be dangerous. Certain common factors can be observed. Many boys are withdrawn to begin with. The

1. For background of U, see p. 124.

majority seem to respond to approval, encouragement and a close relationship with the adult concerned. But, despite these common factors, one wonders whether one can really categorize in the sense of Section 5 cases, or Section 1 cases. From the case histories already dealt with, the imperfections of such have, surely, been shown. The conclusion can, therefore, be made that the varying degrees of disturbance in the child are the result of the same fundamental needs.

Home and a complete ignorance of their needs. One such building was

"gaunt and barrack-like, with far too few living rooms and rooms for play in the boys' quarters. The dining room and playground were unattractive and there was nothing cheerful or homely about the place. When we went into the boys' playground we found a rock full of boys from the age of five upwards who crowded round us urging us to look at any small possessions they had. The lack of room space made proper facilities for games and recreation impossible." 1.

This situation, it pointed out, should be avoided in the future.

Dr. John Bowlby under the auspices of the World Health Organisation also pointed out the dangers of institutional care. His report stressed the importance of mother-love in the development of the child's character and personality:-

"Prolonged breaks in the mother-child relationship during the first three years of life leave a characteristic depression on the child's personality. Such children appear emotionally withdrawn and

CHAPTER XII

Skellow Hall as a Children's Home

The purpose of this chapter is to examine in some detail Skellow Hall and to consider its effectiveness as a Children's Home.

The Curtis Report, in 1946, pointed out the many dangers of institutional care. It showed how there could be a complete disregard of the children coming into the Home and a complete ignorance of their needs. One such building was

"gaunt and barrack-like, with far too few living rooms and rooms for play in the boys' quarters. The dining room and playrooms were unattractive and there was nothing cheerful or homely about the place. When we went into the boys' playroom we found a room full of boys from the age of five upwards who crowded round us urging us to look at any small possessions they had. The lack of room space made proper facilities for games and recreation impossible." 1.

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"Prolonged breaks (in the mother-child relationship) during the first three years of life leave a characteristic impression on the child's personality. Such children appear emotionally withdrawn and

1. Report of Care of Children Committee, 1946. Para. 169.

isolated. They fail to develop loving ties with other children or with adults and consequently have no friendships worth the name. It is true that they are sometimes sociable in a superficial sense but if this is scrutinised we find that there are no feelings, no roots in these relationships." 1.

These observations of Bowlby's emphasised the need for all forms of Child Welfare to be well aware of the implications of deprivation. Many circumstances made deprivation unavoidable and so the forms of substitute care given had to provide the child with as much opportunity as was practically possible for his personality to develop. This, then, explains the trend towards family-group homes for younger children coming into care.

In running an Institution like Skellow Hall one had to create an environment that would as far as possible give the child opportunity to adjust itself and develop its personality. Adjustment and development of personality would only come if the child had security and affection which would normally be experienced in a family. One of the main requirements, therefore, would be to make the child feel part of a family in which it was needed and approved.

This alone would not be sufficient. There would be varying degrees of deprivation and these in turn would present varying behaviour patterns. It would, therefore, be essential that every child's background should be known fully. This way, one would know what pattern of behaviour to expect and what approach to make.

From the background studies of children coming into Skellow Hall it can be seen that although throughout there is the common factor of parental disharmony, there are various patterns of "unsettledness".

There is the child who feels itself neglected, uncherished or unnoticed by the adults of its family. It will develop a habit of going out to get as much affection and attention as it can, it becomes an over-demanding, attention-seeking child. In the background studies, it can be seen that Children A, C, E and F came into this category. This pattern is a mild type of unsettledness and can be dealt with in the family atmosphere of a group home, for attention here more than anything else is required. (Hence the preference for this type to enter group homes).

The next pattern seems to be of a child who is desperately clinging to the friendship of other adults and who feels resentful against parents who are not allowing it to feel secure at home. Such children veer between two distinct and opposite patterns of behaviour: in the one they are still trying hard to be loved, in the other they cut themselves off from all affection by being as horrid as possible. Child B's background and behaviour illustrates this fully. There are other children who have been made to feel all their childhood that they are not wanted. They lower their anxiety by attempting to

make themselves independent of love. But in killing their desire for approval they also tend to destroy any feeling of human obligation or compunction about the rights of others. Child H typifies this.

There is the child who withdraws himself and is afraid of people and things. This usually arises from cruel and unnatural treatment in childhood. Unforthcomingness and general shyness are two characteristics of another pattern. Then there is the pattern which is characterised by depression tendencies.

If these patterns are kept in mind when building up an environment, then the deprived child will obtain that security and attention he so basically needs.

(1) Play and Games

Skellow Hall is in quite beautiful surroundings. There are spacious grounds, a playing field and organised gardens. There is, thus, plenty of room to play and to move around. Freedom of movement and close contact with nature cannot be over-emphasised. It is through this that the personality develops both in mind and body. Child F, when he first entered the Home, was completely inactive. After a few months he began to take an interest in his surroundings. At most times he played alone. His play largely consisted of building 'dens' from piles of

1. See previous chapter for description of Skellow Hall.

old stones and knocking them down. He then ventured into group games. His tendency at first was to play with smaller boys, making quite sure he was the leader. At this stage, a certain amount of confidence was being shown and there was now some desire for more organised games with older boys. Along with this activity on the games field was seen an urge to paint. The boy is now a capable painter at school and a more than popular member of the Home.

Giving the child opportunities for play at Skellow has certainly contributed to all-round adjustment. It is in play that one can observe his particular characteristics. In group games the child, who has been of the independent type in the past, plays alone and one can see that although partaking in a team, as far as he is concerned he is playing for himself. The attention-seeking child is forever being "injured" and rolling around in a dramatic manner. Cricket may to him become some drama in which he takes the leading role and brings the crowd to its feet when really what he is trying to do is to win the approval and affection of all watching, especially adults. - (parent transference). The "hero" is not the only attention-seeking device seen on the playing field. There is the child who "dies a heroic death" in trying to save an apparent goal.

The child who is aggressive and who rejects all

approach may have chance in a game to put that aggressiveness into a legitimate channel. There have been admissions to Skellow who have been quite aggressive at first in the Home. Their only source of enjoyment has appeared to lie in hurting others. Their first few weeks have usually been spent in bullying and asserting themselves with the younger ones. Introducing these to games has been no easy task. Once on the games field, they have used every available excuse to leave:- ("I'm not playing" - because some player has not passed; "Always me!" - because there has been an off-side.)

Encouragement, patience, and a certain amount of disregard for the rules on the part of the adult has led to more participation on the part of the particular child. At the same time, there have been less cases of bullying and more co-operation in the Home.

Child U, who had been sent to Skellow Hall for "attempted" suicide, began to take part in various games. He had come along to the Home unable to take part in any activities because of his spastic foot. Although limited he began to bat and field in cricket and was well received by his colleagues. This, in turn, led to his partaking in various other games and the handicap of his foot became less noticeable. Here was a case of a boy who had lost all confidence in himself as a person who

would be able to do anything, because he had never been given to opportunity to shine in any field "because of his foot". But when the situation arose in which his handicap was merely noticed and passed by and he was invited to have a game as if nothing was amiss, then his motive for depression was weakened.

Observation has led the writer to believe that organised games have been of great value at Skellow Hall. They not only give one a chance to see the particular type of personality defect, they also allow one to treat that child within that gamesituation. In a game, anti-social tendencies can be redirected. A child can also feel himself a member of a group, accepted and required. A game can be the starting point for relationship with really difficult cases. But in using games in this way the emphasis is on the awareness of the adults involved. They have to be prepared to lower their standards of skill required in whatever game they are playing in order to enable the partakers to feel able. By regressing in the game they can progress with the children. At Skellow Hall plenty of time is also given for 'unorganised' games to take place. There is a great value in this as well as in organised games. The latter involves adult participation and infers a certain amount of treatment so that various relationships can be established.

Each form of play and game provides at first the opportunity for the "unsettled" child to show himself as he feels he ought to be and experiences at Skellow Hall suggest that by allowing the child to show himself in these various ways can he adjust himself to those around him.

In 'unorganised' games, the adult is incidental. They are the invention of the child or children concerned and their importance cannot be overstressed, when dealing with "deprived" children.

It is in play that a child comes to terms with his surroundings and with the other children in his company. Play gives a child the opportunity to express himself in a way that will help to relieve any inner tensions he might have. Children come along to Skellow Hall with many vivid and disturbing impressions of home life and of contact with other human beings. Their early play shows this quite clearly.

A child has been observed to have played the part of an adult in a game in which the other children have been themselves. His interpretation of the adult has been one of a cruel aggressive type, who is only content when bullying others.

Other games have followed this pattern for the child. By this expression of experiences which have been because of their previous behaviour. The writer and

disturbing the boy, has become less tense and more inclined to play of another nature.

Time and facilities for play give children coming into Skellow Hall a chance to enter an imaginary world, which has probably never opened itself to them before. Many play games at thirteen and fourteen which are characteristic of nine year olds.

(ii) Working in the grounds

As the grounds are spacious at Skellow Hall, there is plenty of room not only for play but for work also. Many of the children who come to the Home show a marked liking for working in the grounds. Some have small gardens of their own in which they grow flowers and vegetables. They take great delight in supplying their friends with some of their produce. Others help with the general work in the grounds. There is plenty of this available and so all can be employed.

Many difficult children have come to Skellow Hall, who have been found guilty of various offences. Very few people have had anything to say in their favour and yet they have shown a liking for working in the grounds. Any adult who has worked with them has noticed qualities which have previously been unnoticed. The writer has experienced working with three "offenders". They had left school and had been sent to Skellow Hall because of their previous behaviour. The writer and

these three were engaged on the task of building a wall. This took about a week, during which time a relationship developed. The three boys later were of no trouble and helped a great deal in the general organisation of the Home.

Skellow Hall also caters for boys with farming interest. There are pigs kept in some of the old outhouses and accomodation is being made for more. This involves the building of 'places'. Many of the older boys take to the erecting of these and like to help with the keeping of the pigs. Child S entered Skellow Hall with a background of stealing and two approved schools. It was extremely difficult to decide wherethe best method of approach lay. He did not seem to settle in with the other boys at first. As he had left school, he was at the Home all day. He had the choice of the garden or the piggeries in which t to work. His interest lay in the latter and as a result he began to spend a great deal of his time helping to keep the pigs.

Observations suggest that one of the reasons for work of this nature having a salutary effect on the boys who enter is that here they find something in which the see the results of their own endeavours, as part of a greater whole. They are helping to create their own environment and as people seeng it pass various

complimentary remarks they feel encouraged. Probably for many of them it is the first encouragement they have had. For the first time they can see their own actions be interpreted as good.

Another possible reason is that by creating their own environment, they feel a certain attachment and therefore security. This in itself will tend to induce behaviour of a constructive and social nature.

There is also something fundamental about working together. Relationships are established when a group is working on one project. The writer recalls working along with the Superintendent and various older boys on a section of the entrance to the Hall which required returfing, the building of various small banks and a great deal of hard laborious digging. It was a particularly hot summer and the work took about a week. In that week something far more basic than the beauty of the entrance to the drive was established. A spirit existed and a relationship was formed in which "offender" and "superintendent" had no meaning. Probably it is in these group workings that approval of each other comes out and the child feels that the adult is on his side.

The writer has dealt with the subjects of play, games and work in the grounds because he feels that it is in these spheres that the first real relationships are established.

Children, on first coming to the Home, are made to feel one of the rest, both by the staff and by the children, but they never seem at ease until they are outside in some activity. This may explain why boys entering at times, when light nights and warm weather allow them to spend a great deal of time outside, seem to settle quicker than those entering in the winter.

(iii) Social arrangements

The Home itself houses a maximum of thirty boys. There is a Superintendent and Matron in charge of the Home and a Housemother and General Assistant. It is felt at Skellow Hall that, while the distribution of small groups to one adult is the customary procedure, this method lends itself to too much artificiality. Consequently the children have their own small groups in bedrooms and at the dining tables but they have no one adult to look for. They have several. This produces far more of a natural family atmosphere as the children do not then feel obliged to go to anyone in particular. They go to whom they want.

Various interest and activities often take the Superintendent into the community around Skellow Hall. This helps to integrate the Home with the community for people become interested in the Home, visit it and each one talking quite intently to his friends. The dining room contains tables of four and this leads

play with the children. The writer captained a cricket team three years ago and it was the last match of the season. The team was short of players, as some had started to play football. Six of the older Skellow Hall boys were invited to play. The team won and this set up a relationship between the team, supporters of the team and the Home which exists yet.

The children go on various annual trips to the seaside with Clubs in the area. This is not a special trip put on for the benefit of Skellow Hall Children's Home. If it were, then the purpose would be lost.

The Clubs arrange trips for their own member's children and the children from the Home are invited to go abng aswell. As a result they feel members of a group.

Meals at Skellow Hall contain a varied and balanced diet. Breakfast is served within one hour of rising and always includes a main dish. Mid-day meals are taken at school with the exception of those over school age. These boys have their meals with the staff in the dining room. Tea is of a light nature as is supper. The older boys, however, sometimes have a substantial supper.

The atmosphere in the dining room at Skellow Hall is of a noisy nature. This is as it should be. The noise is not caused by individuals shouting, but by each one talking quite intently to his friends. The dining room contains tables of four and this lends

itself more to the family situation. The staff eat along with the children.

This type of arrangement provides a useful social training. It gives the children a sense of punctuation (for they have to be in for a special time for their meals). It also helps many to acquaint themselves with eating and talking in a quite civilised and happy atmosphere (an experience which many have never previously had). Birthdays are recognised in a demonstrative way by the boys at meal times and this can have some quite amazing effects. One child came to Skellow Hall with a very grim background. His attitude towards everything seemed to be one of misery. His birthday came along and at tea, all the boys acknowledged it. His reaction was one of surprise at first but later he showed great delight. This established a relationship between him and the rest of the boys which lasted until he left Skellow.

(iv) Furnishings and surroundings

The Superintendent of Skellow Hall is responsible to various outside bodies for the efficient running of the establishment. This entails not only care and treatment of the children but an economic "housekeeping". The reminding of children that they have to take care of the building and consider the fact that other people spend hours trying to keep it clean helps to give them a social training. They acquire a certain personal responsibility.

to the onlooker, materially speaking, seem valueless but to the child are priceless. The furnishings in the Home are not luxurious but of a reasonable standard of comfort, in which the staff and children can feel at home, and which helps the children to take a pride in their surroundings. It is never forgotten that children learn through their senses and as a result the environment in which they move has a tremendous effect on them. Decoration and furnishings are good in design and bright and attractive in colour. This applies also to chair and bed-covers, curtains and rugs which are also in attractive colours. In such an atmosphere of colour and warmth, children on first entering do not feel the same depression as they would feel on entering one of the nineteenth century type children's institutions. Bedrooms vary in colour and design and this gives the personal touch which is so important to the 'deprived' child. There is a danger that, in a Children's Home, one might have all the bedrooms painted in the same colour, arranged in the same way and expect belongings of the bedroom to be shared by all. But this lends itself to the impersonal and must be avoided. The child likes to feel there is something that is his, that is perhaps different to his colleague's - their beds tidy and in particular they treasure their lockers. Lockers are perhaps the most important feature of the bedrooms regarding the development of the child. In a locker, a child keeps his personal belongings which may

to the onlooker, materially speaking, seem valueless but to the child are priceless. Many of his possessions have some connection with home. Others are mere projections of himself in the way of drawing and models.

The boys are encouraged to keep their lockers tidy and look after them. In this way, it is felt, a certain amount of personal pride is built up. Boys, who have been in the Home for a long time, are quite proud of their possessions. An interesting result of this is the influence it can have on newcomers. Child J entered the Home with a very poor home background. His parents had been unable to control him and he had become associated with a group of other boys which had broken into a shop. On first coming to the Home, one could tell quite easily that J had had very few personal belongings. Clothes were given to him (as he came in a very ragged condition) and within a week these were ragged. His jacket was constantly forgotten and in general he had no sense of personal pride. The bedroom, in which he slept, contained six other boys, who had been in the Home for a few years. They kept their beds tidy and in particular they treasured their lockers. J did not. His bed was frequently untidy. His locker contained very little. The boys began to

As this room is large and as the television is not shown all the time, it is also a room for quiet work and reading.

urge him to tidy up his belongings. He did this and within two months his locker was quite tidy.

Many important points arise out of this example. First, in a bedroom where there are a few boys, there can exist a social conscience and newcomers before very long conform to this. Difficult newcomers are placed usually in a larger bedroom where one can be certain of this social conscience. Secondly, it must be remembered the newcomer may have had no personal belongings before and therefore, be inexperienced in looking after new acquisitions. Thirdly, every child fundamentally needs projections of himself and his parents in personal belongings. If he has not these, he often resorts to stealing, not to gain some valuable material object but to look for what has been rejected (which is basically parental love). Hence the encouraging of children to look after their personal possessions is a form of approval.

(v) The "Television Room"

Skellow Hall has a large room which is known as the playroom. Originally there were two rooms, which served as playrooms. One, however, was converted into a Television room. The Television projects onto a large screen and therefore requires the use of a whole room. As this room is large and as the television is not shown all the time, it is also a room for quiet work and reading.

Some of the older boys are allowed to go into the room and read. It is emphasised quite clearly, that the room is for reading purposes and activities of a noisy nature are forbidden in this room. This is accepted by all the boys and is a good way of helping newcomers to adjust themselves and to introduce some of them to reading books, as many of them have only previously been acquainted with comics. A project is taking place at the moment of having an organised library with older children as officials and specified dates for the borrowing of books. Fines will be imposed if the books are overdue. The value of this lies not only in the library but also in the fact that older boys, some of whom are offenders, are making rules. It is felt that this sort of experience can re-direct anti-social tendencies.

The television is switched on in the winter evenings and sometimes in the summer evenings. There is the danger that one might become too narrow in the choosing of programmes for the children. While it is obviously a good thing for children to watch, what adults consider as educational programmes, it must not be forgotten that in the light of child development the cowboy and pseudo-historical programmes are just as educational. With 'deprived' children there is also an adjusting factor about these programmes for one often

has found in Skellow Hall that the depressed, withdrawn newcomers have become alive during these items and have used them as backcloths for their play.

(vi) The playroom

The boys are encouraged to take part in creative activities in the playroom. This is a large room which contains facilities for table tennis, snooker and darts. The boys have their own boxes in which they keep toys, presents and models they have made. Some of them take an interest in the tropical fish which is kept in the room. They help to feed them and ensure favourable conditions. These were present to Skellow Hall by the Doncaster Zoological Society, three years ago.

The boys usually organise themselves into small groups. Some play table-tennis, some billiards, some paint and others make models. Model making has been very popular at Skellow Hall and it has led many children onto further pursuits. One boy made various minor models of motor cars and aeroplanes and then attempted a telescope. This caused him to read about telescopes in general and this in turn, stimulated an interest in astronomy. Not only is this boy passionately interested in astronomy but also a group has been stimulated into activity in this field. Models help to decorate the playroom and allow the children to see the results of their activities. Boys, who encouraged to construct

and who can see the results of their endeavours, seldom want to be destructive. Some boys who enter Skellow Hall tend at first to be destructive but after a while they seem to settle to work of constructive nature.

It is at times necessary to organise activities in the playroom. This has the twofold purpose of introducing newcomers into the group and also of giving the children the attention they like to have. Games of tennis are organised in such a way that those, who are inferior at the game, are encouraged. Handicaps are given and it is quite revealing to see the previously inactive become active because they realise that they have some chance of success. This gives one an insight into the behaviour of some of the inactive. Many behave in such a disinterested way because they have never been encouraged and they assume they are inferior. This feeling of inferiority often affects their attitude towards everything. It is this type, which can very often become aggressive and anti-social in later years. Games played in the way and spirit of the ~~table~~-tennis handicap can, therefore, help a great deal in preventing this particular form of delinquency.

(vii) The "Camp"

It has been observed how Skellow Hall tries to integrate the boys with the community around. Attempts

have been successful. The Home applies this policy in relation to holidays. Children's Homes have in the past gone away for holidays but many of them have thought only in terms of their Home. They have considered it a sufficient holiday to transport their boys to some seaside spot and for the boys to play among themselves. When this is examined, it is found that there is very little holiday. The Home has merely moved to another place, retaining its isolation.

Skellow Hall visits a Y.M.C.A. Camp at the seaside where other Homes and holiday-makers reside. The result of this is a chance of mixing and establishing further relationships. In the morning, various parties go to the beach and swim, some play football on the neighbouring football field and others go for walks. Whatever activity the boys take part in, there is usually company from elsewhere. A fine community spirit is built up over the fortnight on holiday.

In previous events at Skellow Hall, it has been noticed how the new admissions who have been described as difficult, seem to react when they see the majority enjoying themselves. The same applies on holiday. When a new admission has gone with Skellow Hall on holiday, he has at first been quite withdrawn. After a few days, however, he has been invited to take part

in some activity or other and has become quite changed in behaviour.

In the evenings the Camp arranges dancing. This is mainly for young people and the emphasis is on spirit rather than on skill. The result of this is that many shy and withdrawn boys are encouraged to take part and their newly-found confidence spreads into other fields.

The holiday always ends with a party and it is interesting to compare the various group-formations with those at the beginning of the holiday. Now, at the party, one finds two from Skellow, two from another Home and two from some other area, in a group. New contacts are made at the party and the whole nature of the fortnight is summed up here; a developing of relationship and spirit.

(viii) School life

The boys, who are under fifteen at Skellow Hall, attend either the local secondary modern or the local primary school. Here they have a chance to mix with other young people. Several are members of the Art Club, some of the Drama Club. Many have played in the School football and cricket teams. Reports and comments suggest that most of the boys have settled down quite well. This is very surprising in some cases, for various children have entered Skellow with records of non-attendance

at school, bad behaviour and poor performance.

Some have come along, recorded as having an extremely low Intelligence-Quotient. Yet many of these have been reported as having behaved well and shown interest and ability in various subjects.

Child Z came to Skellow Hall with a record of non-attendance at school. His home background was of a poor nature. Z settled down at Skellow, became popular with the boys and went to school regularly and enjoyed it. It had been noted that previous to coming to Skellow Z had not been very able at school, even when he had attended. Z was placed in a D stream consequently. At the end of the year, he was the top of his form (regarding the total marks he obtained in subjects, compared with the others). Z was then placed in the E stream, in which he finished second. As he entered at thirteen, Z left school after that year.

Various other observations of this nature have caused the writer to wonder whether non-attendance at school, low intelligence-quotient as measured by tests but which do not necessarily indicate the complete intellectual ability of the child and bad behaviour can often be attributed to the emotional upset caused at home. These children, comparable to Z, having achieved some emotional stability at Skellow, went to school quite conscientiously. It is quite amazing to

find that children at Skellow Hall have this attitude to school.

(ix) Contact with parents

The children at Skellow Hall are encouraged, wherever possible, to keep a link with their own family and relatives. It has been customary to hold visiting days on the first Saturday of each month. Parents and relatives, who are in touch with the children, usually make an effort to come. Their visits consist largely of trips to Doncaster where the children are lavished with gifts. This has been found to be a characteristic of 'deprived children' and their families. The parents make a gesture in terms of buying the children whatever they ask for and the children react by asking for more. It is as if this to them is all that matters, when in actual fact, they are compensating to their children for their inability to solve their particular break-down pattern. Some of the letters sent to the children from parents have a disturbing effect on them. It has been the experience of the writer that the parents who have been in the past the most neglectful, write the most emotional letters. Some of these suggest complete disturbance in the mind of the writer. Authorities and Superintendents are scorned and the child is presented with pages informing him of the evils of bad behaviour, depression, and constant running away.

these people. This once again is a compensatory measure on the part of the parent. It is quite natural, therefore, that the Superintendent of Skellow Hall, in the interests of the children, has to hold these letters back. When a child can be seen to be quite relaxed and fairly happy, it is felt advisable to prevent his momentary security from being upset.

(x) Discipline

Every community needs to have some form of discipline and Skellow Hall is no exception. Children, coming into care, are often difficult in behaviour at first. Many are disturbed at being removed from their homes and the disturbance manifests itself in various ways. There is the danger of thinking it is only the noisy and troublesome who are the most affected. Often the quiet are equally disturbed. The effect of removal on them is to cause them to withdraw. Others, however, can be extremely aggressive and disagreeable. These are not punished because of this behaviour. It is to be understood that parental upset and consequent removal will produce behaviour problems, which will not be solved by punishment.

Case I entered Skellow Hall with a grim background. His first three months at the Home witnessed bad behaviour, depression, and constant running away.

All tried to be friendly towards him. He was invited to take part in games and various social events but he was quite anti-social. To have punished him would have been quite useless for one would not have cured anything. His motive for his actions was, obviously, far deeper and would have probably been strengthened by punishment. It seemed as if "I" thought the world was against him and that he would show the world what he was capable of. But, during three months, "I" found that whatever he did, did not attract the attention of the Skellow Hall community in a way to desire punishment. Gradually, the example set by the rest seemed to have a marked effect on him. He became more integrated with the group and began to partake in activities. When "I" finally left Skellow Hall, he left a very popular and respected lad.

This example is related to point out the futility of punishment with behaviour problems. The effect of example shown by the others was far greater than any punishment. In a community such as that at Skellow Hall, it is example, consideration, approval and general spirit which brings about the self-respect and sense of responsibility for the individual's actions. This is the discipline which brings out the general well-being and Christian way of life which one aims at

in the Home. Al Tucker says that "the most important part of education is what the child absorbs in his own home for this includes a fundamental attitude to life". ^{1.} Skellow Hall tries to give this fundamental attitude to life.

be avoided out for to return home when they leave school, it has been seen that many at Skellow Hall remain for a time after reaching the age of fifteen. The reasons for this departure have been varied. Some are difficult, some can not be considered suitable for unsupervised work and others are having to wait for foster homes to be found for them. This type of situation demands a flexible type of administrative machinery.

To ensure that a boy will be quite settled in a foster home requires full co-operation between Child Care Officer and Superintendent. The Child Care Officer must know the Home well enough to be able to decide whether the boy concerned will settle there.

1. Tucker, "Children without Homes", Bodley Head Super Press. On the other hand, must know the boy well enough in order to be able to suggest what is best for him. The need for care and attention to this problem cannot be overemphasized. A mere fixing up with a place to dwell and a job to attend can undo any good work that has been done. Both Child Care Officer and Superintendent must try as far as possible to make the boy feel wanted and needed. Consideration of his

CHAPTER XIII

Boarding Out

Although it is customary for children to be boarded out (or to return home) when they leave school, it has been seen that many at Skellow Hall remain for a time after reaching the age of fifteen. The reasons for this departure have been noticed. Some are difficult, some can not be considered suitable for unsupervised work and others are having to wait for foster homes to be found for them. This type of situation demands a flexible type of administrative machinery.

To ensure that a boy will be quite settled in a foster home requires full co-operation between Child Care Officer and Superintendent. The Child Care Officer must know the Home well enough to be able to decide whether the boy concerned will settle there. The Superintendent, on the other hand, must know the boy well enough in order to be able to suggest what is best for him. The need for care and attention to this problem cannot be overemphasized. A mere fixing up with a place to dwell and a job to attend can undo any good work that has been done. Both Child Care Officer and Superintendent must try as far as possible to make the boy feel wanted and needed. Consideration of his

interests and capabilities must also be given when considering his job. Many boys as Skellow visit prospective foster homes before they go to live there. This does not make the break seem as sudden. Over the past few years the boys have gone into a variety of jobs. The experience on the land at the Home has led many to chose a farm life. Others have gone into jobs of a practical nature. There have been very few misplacements in foster homes. The majority visit Skellow Hall periodically and keep in touch with the staff. They organise games with those in the Home and this in itself has a beneficial effect on those at Skellow, for they see people coming back, who have once been in the same situation as themselves and they see the way they act.

The policy of changing Skellow Hall from an institution for "non-offenders" to a place for both to reside has, therefore, been successful. There are various implications in this. Having seen the fruits of this venture in one Home, the authorities might make it a general procedure in others and the magistrates become more and more reluctant to send "offenders" to approved schools.

Undoubtedly, there is a great deal of re-thinking to be done. The mockery of such a division as "offenders" and "non-offenders" must be recognized

CHAPTER XIV

Conclusion

Out of the previous consideration of Skellow Hall as a Children's Home, several points emerge, which cannot be overlooked. No clear division can be drawn between "offenders" and "non-offenders". The case histories have indicated this. Throughout has been the common factor of deprivation. The consequences have been of varying degree from mere acceptance of authority and of apathetic approach to life to behaviour, unacceptable in any community.

It has been seen, however, that in an atmosphere that has placed great emphasis on relationships, encouragement and approval, even the most difficult boy has responded to some degree.

The policy of changing Skellow Hall from an institution for "non-offenders" to a place for both to reside has, therefore, been successful. There are various implications in this. Having seen the fruits of this venture in one Home, the authorities might make it a general procedure in others and the magistrates become more and more reluctant to send "offenders" to approved schools.

Undoubtedly, there is a great deal of re-thinking to be done. The mockery of such a division as "offenders" and "non-offenders" must be recognized

and their common needs considered. But certain reservations will have to be made. The nature of each children's home will have to be examined carefully before the policy can be applied there. The wisdom of sending a fourteen-year-old 'delinquent'¹ to a mixed home might be questioned. His response in such an atmosphere will not be immediate and his reaction on entering the home could be quite disturbing. Mixing the more difficult with the less difficult in a home where the staff had no experience of delinquency and its symptoms would be a great strain on all concerned. Although each member of the staff might be quite capable of creating a family atmosphere for the more responsive, the effect of aggressive and anti-social behaviour might be something entirely strange to them and their reaction could disrupt the whole atmosphere of the home. Before such a venture as the one at Skellow Hall can take place, careful consideration has to be given to the type of staff and the nature of the home in question. In this way the machinery of Child Welfare will be more geared

1. 'delinquent' is used to signify a person brought before the Court. and Mental Health" Penguin Books.

to the needs of the deprived child.

The main purpose of this thesis has been to trace the development of Child Welfare at Skellow Hall Children's Home. This has involved an examination of the principles underlying Child Welfare, which in turn has entailed a retrospective look, in order to account for such principles. It has been seen how Skellow Hall Children's Home has fitted in the framework of Child Welfare and a change in function has been noted, which could be a reflection of a regional and national trend.

The thesis will have gained in value if along with fulfilling its purpose, it has succeeded in showing in some measure that:-

"The proper care of children deprived of a normal home life can now be seen to be not merely an act of common humanity, but to be essential for the mental and social welfare of a community. For, when their care is neglected, they grow up to reproduce themselves. Deprived children, whether in their own homes or out of them, are the source of social infection as real and serious as are the carriers of diphtheria and typhoid. And just as preventive measures have reduced these diseases to negligible proportions, so can determined action greatly reduce the number of deprived children in our midst and the growth of adults liable to produce more of them." 1.

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